

**“School of Arctic Dialogue”**

**Final Report**



***The Future of Europe - A Northern Point of View***

Rovaniemi – Luleå – Kautokeino – Hetta – Inari / Ivalo – Sodankylä  
*November 10-15, 2025*

**TN on Geopolitics and Security (UArctic)**  
**<https://arcticpolitics.com>**

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<https://calotte-academy.com>



## About the Idea of the Calotte Academy

The Calotte Academy is an annual traveling symposium and international forum in Europe's North Calotte region, designed to promote interdisciplinary discourse, and implement the interplay between senior and young researchers to train and supervise early-career scientists in circumpolar Arctic studies. It is a "school of dialogue" and participatory by nature with an idea to share knowledge and experiences with communities, and foster academic and policy-oriented dialogue among members of the research community and a wide range of other northern stakeholders. It is also an interdisciplinary brainstorming meeting to bring researchers and other experts from different fields, regions and countries together to discover and implement new methods and applications.

The Calotte Academy is for established researchers and early-career scientists (ECS), particularly PhD candidates and post-docs, with different academic and/or knowledge backgrounds to participate and present their work in the 2025 Calotte Academy.

## Procedures of the Calotte Academy

The Calotte Academy is structured so that there are academic sessions with scientific presentations and brainstorming discussions in each location, as well as a public session, based on invitations, in one or two of the locations. Since dialogue and application of science are the most important goals of the Calotte Academy, it is recommended to remember and apply the open-ended nature of dialogue and how to cross disciplines, sectors and other borders. A fundamental precondition for this is to have enough time for questions, comments and open discussion as well as enough patience for listening to others' argumentation.

Following these principles, the sessions will be structured the way that each **presentation** will be allocated altogether 30-40 minutes out of which a **maximum of 15 minutes** will be reserved for the presentation and the rest for questions, comments, and open discussion.

The Academy is also an interdisciplinary brainstorming meeting for scholars and other experts from different fields and disciplines all over the circumpolar North to discover new methods and plan possible research project(s), as well as to know more about the aims and activities of the TN on Geopolitics and Security. In addition to academic sessions, there will be a devoted session for research plan/project design, fund-raising and other more practical issues of research; and second, a role-play game (simulation of international negotiation) on a state of Arctic governance and geopolitics, where each participant has their role.

Afterwards, a Final Report including the abstracts, main findings, highlights and ideas for the future of the 2025 Academy's sessions will be produced (see Final Reports on previous Calotte Academies, address: <https://calotte-academy.com/final-reports>). The Report will be based on notes and reports on sessions written by rapporteurs chosen for each session during the Calotte Academy tour.

## Calotte Academy's Two Methods

Embodiment and dialogue are the two core methods of the Calotte Academy. They are combined by the dualism of 'mobility', when traveling in several destinations, and having excursions locally, in the European Arctic and Sapmi, and a dialogue, when implementing an open discussion after each participant's presentation. This twofold approach is participatory by nature, and inspired by the principles of inclusivity, and freedom of expression.

Firstly, the 'mobility by a nature' idea leans on confidence on personal sensory experiences of the realities (of a region, its peoples and societies) as a learning principle. People are embodied beings, and therefore seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and sensing, in any way, enhance and localize thought and learning (e.g. Varela et al. 1993), as well as assist to gain a sense of the reality of a region / community (e.g. Heininen 2023). As a result, the participants overcome not only state boundaries and those between different areas (e.g. reindeer herding, mining, military), but also non-territorial borders / boundaries erected between disciplines (e.g. Östren 2010), livelihoods, seasons, or mental maps (e.g., tourism, car & tire testing).

Secondly, while substance is most important, in practical terms structure and methods matter. Hence, an annual Calotte Academy is organized and structured in a way that ensures an open discussion that aims a real dialogue in which the participants "approach the dialogue with an open mind... [and realize] the potential of dialogues" (Gadamer 1992). Accordingly, dialogue is built on participatory approach and a sense of community, as well as a faith that, when gathering knowledgeable people are open-minded to listen and think, talk and share ideas, as well as rethink and build upon others' arguments.

As a result, a dialogue with an open-ended nature is achievable when "committed to inclusivity, ...engaged with each other's' arguments, ...focused on issue domain,... embraced the open-ended nature of the dialogue", as a cumulative process (Kornprobst 2009). This is implemented by structuring the sessions the way that a presentation of each participant (maximum 15 minutes), based on her / his research and expertise, will be followed by a lively discussion (including questions, comments, answers) twice of the time allocated for a presentation. This is a fundamental precondition to have "the potential of dialogues" being materialized.

Finally, all this is particularly important in turbulent times of world politics (of disorder) with great power rivalry, increased tension, lack of tolerance, and when facing the climate crisis. Whereas the traditional scientific world much leans on disciplinary and class-room methods in research, teaching and when reviewing grant applications, this kind of unorthodox, interdisciplinary method with a flexible format is increasingly favored and supported by, as well as supportive for, early-career researchers and young policy-makers. Unsurprisingly, this approach has also potential to bring unexpected perspectives and results.

## **About the 2025 Calotte Academy**

The theme of the 2025 Academy, “The Future of Europe - A Northern Point of View” is inspired by the consequences of the world (dis)order of mounting multi-crises with two controversial realities: the ecological catastrophe / climate crisis vis-à-vis great power rivalries indicating an antagonism between ‘militarization’ and ‘environmentalization’ of societies, state policies, transboundary relations and media. Europe, as a part of Eurasia, is located between the North Atlantic, Africa, the Middle East, Russia and the Arctic, and is therefore very much concerned with migrant/asylum flows, hot/proxy wars with the related energy crisis and sanctions, turbulent US foreign and security policy, the fragmentation of European democracy and that of the Nordic welfare state, a rapidly warming Arctic climate, and a pause in beneficial Arctic cooperation.

What is the future of Europe, especially from a Northern point of view, in turbulent times of worldwide disorder, great power rivalry and the climate crisis? This is what will be discussed during the Calotte Academy 2025.

In general, the 2025 event continued the interdisciplinary, multi-theoretical and multidimensional discussion on perceptions, visions of, and discourses on Arctic development, governance, geopolitics and security in globalization. Furthermore, the Academy continued the discussion on the future of the region and its peoples and communities, by describing, analyzing and debating different – cooperative, competitive and conflicting – perceptions, discourses and trends, as well as the impacts of their interrelations/complexities in globalization. A special focus was on the environment & climate change, geopolitics & security, development & governance, and the related issues, as well as their combinations in the successful transformation of the Arctic from confrontation into geopolitical stability based on constructive cooperation, and in that of the unprecedented, as the pan-Arctic cooperation is temporarily paused.

All presenters were asked to take into consideration, in their presentation, the achieved state of constructive cooperation, based on common interests, and how to maintain geopolitical stability and continue the successful cooperation, when the Arctic region is facing the climate crisis and great power rivalries.

## **Co-organizers & contacts**

The 2025 Calotte Academy was co-organized by the Saami Education Institute (SAKK); the International Center for Reindeer Herding Husbandry (EALÁT) (in Norway); the University of Stockholm (in Sweden); the Faculty of Law of the University of Lapland (in Finland); in cooperation with UArctic’s Thematic Network (TN) on Geopolitics and Security.

For more information, feel free to contact Prof. Lassi Heininen (lassi.heininen@arcticpolitics.com), Prof. Laura Junka-Aikio (laura.junka-aikio@ulapland.fi), as well as the Calotte Academy’s co-coordinators, PhD Candidate Zhanna Anshukova (zanshuko@ulapland.fi), PhD Candidate Tom Gabriel Royer (troyer@ulapland.fi).





# PROGRAM

Calotte Academy 2025  
10—15 November 2025

Rovaniemi → Luleå → Kautokeino → Hetta → Inari / Ivalo → Sodankylä → Rovaniemi

## Sunday, 9 November in Rovaniemi

18.00—22.00 Come together & welcoming.

## Monday, 10 November in Rovaniemi

08.30—08.45 *Driving from Guesthouse Borealis and Rovaniemi Bus Station to the University Campus.*

### 1<sup>st</sup> Session: “Europe vis-à-vis Neighboring Areas from Eurasia to the Arctic”

09.00—12.00 University of Lapland’s Campus, room A141

- Opening words by Lassi Heininen
- Matti Nojonen, “Sino-Russian relations – Ukraine war the stress test of ‘no-limits friendship’ and the last frontier – the Arctic”
- Martina Timmermann, “Democratic steering capacity for the 21<sup>st</sup> century – Exploring Arctic resonance”
- Laura Junka-Aikio, “New geographies of Arctic militarization: On military land use and Indigenous rights in Sápmi”

*(Rapporteur: Alexandra Paris)*

The session opened with a welcoming presentation by Professor Lassi Heninen, highlighting the founding spirit of the *Calotte Academy*, the oldest still-ongoing Arctic academic travel. Its core mission: bringing together participants from different fields, countries, and backgrounds to engage in open, demanding scientific dialogue about the Arctic. Lassi emphasized the role of dialogue as a method, it is not just meeting, but listening, thinking, rethinking, contributing, and building ideas collectively. After introductions of all the participants, the first presentations began.

Matti Nojonen presented an overview of China/Russia relations, a no-limits friendship? The examination of Chinese and Russian political speeches and public statements, reveal a real gap between official rhetoric and underlying realities, especially from the Chinese side. For example, the Chinese party seems to permit online discourses criticizing Russia by saying it is a weak and unreliable country. Since the invasion of Ukraine, Xi Jinping has intensified diplomatic gestures, while simultaneously condemning any Russian nuclear threats.

What about the Arctic?

China’s self-description as a *Near-Arctic State* remains vague and contested. Despite rhetoric on the Chinese presence and investments in the Russian Arctic remain surprisingly low, even prior to the war, and significantly lower than in other regions (ex : Africa).

Discussion:

Deep cooperation or strategic exploitation?

China benefits from the situation through access to cheap Russian energy, by favorable trade terms and by supplying drones to Russia (80% of Russian drones are Chinese). However, China does not support the war and remains wary of Russia's unpredictability.

We also talked about the Chinese investments in the Arctic, which are much less important than it is told in the media. So the main questions were : Why so little investment in the Russian Arctic?

One of the main reasons is high political risk. Chinese corporations prioritize profitability, and Russian business environments, particularly under sanctions, are unstable. Also no big need to invest in raw materials in Russia, as they already have cheap prices from Russia.

Why so little ambition to the Arctic and what is wrong with that?

Of course China has ambition everywhere. For instance China could invest more, probably it could even stabilize the war. However China has a plan where to use the investment where not to. Even Russia would like to have more China in the Arctic. Chinese Arctic investments remain marginal compared to other regions, for instance Zambia. In addition, Western board members of Chinese companies create institutional pressure that may slow Arctic investments.

Another question regarding the future: could the relationship change if Putin and Xi Jinping leave power?

Matti Nojonen thinks that no. The biggest fear from China is the potential unpredictability of Russia. They "need" to keep Putin. While China may have a succession plan for the "after Xi", it is uncertain for Russia. It is also important to note that Xi and Putin have different backgrounds. Putin rose from poverty through KGB agent and criminal networks in Leningrad, Xi is from a privileged family, they are not "similar".

The discussion ended by the fact that the main goal of Russian-Chinese friendship is to counterbalancing US and western influence and narrative. Western media often exaggerate the security implications of Chinese Arctic presence. China's exclusion from international cooperation in the International Space Station, for example, led China to build its own space station. It illustrates a pattern of pursuing independent capabilities when excluded from Western-led initiatives.

This second presentation was made by Martina Timmermann. Her talk focused on democratic alternatives in Europe and on the Arctic as a potential *testbed for new governance models*. She started by the idea that Brussels often feels disconnected from realities on the ground, and EU-funded projects frequently appear artificially constructed. The speaker provided an example from Hungary, where projects were designed "to complete the picture" from a Brussels perspective rather than addressing actual local needs or contexts. This top-down approach exemplifies the systemic problem.

The speaker addresses the need to think differently, but how to think outside the box? How to get out of this mindset?

The key insight that she brought is that all political stability is intrinsically linked to energy systems.

The Arctic could be seen as a "democratic laboratory". The speaker questioned that the Arctic's unique context and especially Indigenous cross-border cooperation traditions could inspire new models of governance. And what about the AI potential and

its opportunities? Could it serve to collaborate as a guardian for Indigenous people cultural preservation?

Discussion:

Then the discussion started, there were some cautions and concerns raised about the AI.

First, its environmental footprint (data centers to support AI infrastructure could have repercussions to local fish stocks, directly harming Indigenous livelihoods and food security. Also AI requires enormous energy for data processing, raising also questions about sustainability. There are many talks about nuclear energy, security sector... many complex challenges. Could we trust human beings with their weaknesses? or IA? There is a need to delimit a frame and ethics for the AI.

What about being creative together with the AI?

How and at which extent can we use AI for research, problem solving, brainstorming? Problem of its reliability. One participant shared his experience of testing AI and looked to the references, it reveals that only 5% of the references were real. This raises fundamental questions about AI trust in research and knowledge work. Addressing AI errors requires rigorous training in editing and verification processes to maintain knowledge authenticity, particularly when dealing with Indigenous cultural information. There is also an ethical consideration of how knowledge is transferred between Indigenous people through the AI

The first idea is to use AI as a guardian of old knowledge. But there is not only one view in Indigenous people's perspective, there are many.

Regarding the bottom-up governance. How to include people in decision-making process? What could be the scale of implication national? global? local? Technologies could be helpful in that way?. However, implementing bottom-up approaches is challenging when bringing together people from different expertise levels, background and perspectives.

Given contemporary challenges to democratic systems, we must question whether current political structures remain relevant and explore how new collaborative models might better serve diverse communities.

The third presentation was made by Laura Junka-Aikio. She talked about how current militarisation is affecting Finland. With militarisation, she means as from the ideological point of view, the need to prioritize the defense, as the land use

Military expansion in the Arctic, is not something new, especially near nuclear strategic points, creating significant impacts on regional development. Indeed the land use is not about how militarisation is used but about its immediate repercussions. It is about the development of infrastructures and how they are justified. Military expansion reshapes infrastructure, training areas, and settlement patterns. During the Cold War, Finland, as a neutral country, experienced relatively little military action during this period, it's changed after the war in Ukraine where we see that Rovaniemi is becoming an militarized area.

The Arctic is defined by Europe as High north but it is also Sami land. If there is a need to use land for military reasons, Sami should be consulted.

Impact on Sami: About NATO membership, Sami was not consulted, they did not receive any explanation, it is a violation of Sami rights. The increased military exercises disrupt reindeer herding, without adequate information (often classified). There is no compensation, especially compared with Norway, where there are more collaborations

with Samis. There is a lack of cooperation in Finland. Rapid infrastructure development justified by “security emergency,” bypassing consultation requirements.

#### Discussion:

The discussion began with questions about military construction on Sami reindeer herding areas. The speaker explained that while the Sami Reindeer Herding Act offers protection and defense forces have historically operated in reindeer herding areas. However, under the Sami Parliament Act, authorities must negotiate and obtain Sami consent for land use in Sami regions. According to this Act, authorities must show that military use is necessary and as harmless as possible. This is easier with temporary training but more complicated when new infrastructure is planned.

Questions were raised about the situation of Russian Sami. Although Sami consider themselves one people across borders, cooperation has become nearly impossible and risky due to sanctions.

Participants raised concerns about potential landmines, surveillance and dangerous materials stored in Sami territories. Critical questions emerged : Is environmental legislation being followed? How can communities know what kind of materials are present? It is unclear and there is little transparency on this. People rely on trust despite not truly knowing what is there.

There is also widespread confusion about NATO membership and the Defence Cooperation Agreement (DCA). Many assume the DCA is simply a natural extension of joining NATO, without understanding that it is actually legally binding in ways that people, including some politicians, do not fully realize. From a research perspective, while the DCA is more comprehensible and constraining than NATO's vast framework, it is surprisingly difficult to obtain information about it, making it less transparent despite its deeper legal implications.

There were questions about shooting exercises and shooting areas and its impacts. Even many tourists near Santa Claus Village don't realize there's a major military area with active shooting. The primary problems for reindeer herding involve noise and vehicle tracks in snow, which disturbances can require two weeks to re-collect scattered reindeer. Compensation for this additional work is inconsistent despite large military budgets, while some exists, but it is not systematic. Additionally, Norway previously maintained a policy, restricting international troops at the 24th longitude east, to avoid training near the Russian border, but Finland's NATO membership has made this restriction more difficult to maintain.

The final question addressed whether there is a universal attitude in Sapmi toward military measures ? The speaker emphasized the situation is more complex than simple support or opposition. Finland is important to be defended and secure, but the critical questions are: in what manner ? and what will it provide for the future? The Sami position is clear: "We want to be heard. We are not against security measures, but we want to participate. We want to be partners." The military must respect Indigenous rights, which could ultimately strengthen overall societal resilience and security. The framework should be partnership, not exclusion.

12.00—13.30 Lunch break

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Session: “Energy Policy and Green Transition”

13.30—14.45 University of Lapland's Campus, room A141

- Jillian Rebecca Archer, “Colonial legacies of Ontario energy policy: Historical influences and contemporary impacts”
- Ekaterina Kundele Sofroneeva, “Greenland: Actors’ engagement towards the renewable energy ecosystem”
- 

*(Rapporteur: Tom Royer)*

Jillian Rebecca Archer, "Colonial legacies of Ontario energy policy: Historical influences and contemporary impacts".

In the afternoon, Jillian Rebecca Archer opened the floor to the 2nd session by presenting “Colonial legacies of Ontario energy policy: Historical Influences and Contemporary Impacts”. She argued that the development of Ontario’s energy systems is based on colonial frameworks that continue to influence energy policy today. Her research is based on a qualitative historical case study, notably using materials from the Trent Archives, policy documents (e.g. the “Letters for Settlers” handbook from 1899) and Indigenous-authored materials. She employs a Two-Eyes Seeing approach, combining Indigenous and Western ways of knowing. She stated that GE and hydro projects are tools of nation-building and territorial control, including in the ‘Electric City’ of Peterborough and the Trent-Severn Waterway. The impacts were flooding, dispossession and ecological disruption. In her case study, Curve Lake and Alderville, she explained the Crown Duty to Consult and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Highlighting the need for Indigenous sovereignty and energy futures, she showed a powerful illustration by Chippewa and Potawatomi artist Chief Lady Bird (ᐃᑭᐱᑦᐱᑦᐱᑦ) and argued that Indigenous-led projects are the path towards autonomy.

In conclusion, she believes that community-led projects might be better, as diversification of energy technologies brings smaller-scale, locally attainable operations. Decolonising energy policy means rethinking policy, not just technology. Building a just and inclusive green energy future starts with acknowledging the history of land governance and sovereignty rights.

The questions touched on the impact of energy infrastructure on wildlife, e.g. caribou, and biofuel, e.g. wood. What role do they play in colonial legacies? Finally, to learn more on the topic, Jillian recommended the book *Roughing It in the Bush* by Susanna Moodie.

Ekaterina Kundele Sofroneeva: “Greenland: Actors’ engagement towards the renewable energy ecosystem”.

Ekaterina Kundeleva Sofronieva concluded that day's series of presentations by introducing the topic of "Actors' engagement towards the renewable energy ecosystem" in Greenland. The consequences of climate change raise questions about how Greenland uses renewable energy, what it is doing and what its perspectives are. Although five hydroelectric plants produce around 70% of the island's electricity, the population still relies on fossil fuels. The presentation relied on Actor Network Theory (Johannesson & Baerenholdt) and Ecosystem Theory (Moore). Ekaterina then emphasised the importance of community consultation and participation in the development of any renewable energy grids in Greenland (Carruth, 2016). Notably, she concluded with the words of the Ministry of Energy: "Conflicting knowledge systems are

something that the whole government needs to take into consideration”, and with the example of industrial symbiosis in Iceland, from which Greenland could perhaps draw inspiration.

1<sup>st</sup> Round of the Role Play Game:

“The Future of Europe between Green Transition and Militarization - Learned Lessons from Arctic Cooperation”:

*Introduction & short presentations (max 2 min.) by each actor on its main interests and aims*

15.00—16.00 University of Lapland’s Campus, room A141

16.00—17.00 Visiting Santa Claus Village

17.00—21.00 Driving from Rovaniemi



(Photo: Ekaterina Kundele Sofroneeva)

## **Tuesday, 11 November in Luleå**

3<sup>rd</sup> Session: “The European Union and the Arctic”

09.30—12.00 Luleå Technical University, Room TBC

- Welcoming words by Athanasios Migdala, ETS Institute at LTU
- Hasan Akintug, “Nordic territorial autonomy and the European Union: Winds of change?”
- Alexandra Paris, “Analysis of EU-Arctic relations: Understanding the past to contextualise the present”
- Jonathan Michael MacDonald, “Enhancing Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change Using Semi-Autonomous USVs: A Study of the Potential Benefits for Mapping Shifting Sea Lanes for Improved Security of Circumpolar Nations”

(Rapporteur: Doaa Abdel-Motaal)

### **Nordic Territorial Autonomy and the EU: “Winds of Change” – Hasan Akintug**

Hasan Akintug opened the session with a nuanced exploration of the complicated relationship between the Nordic region and the European Union, describing the Nordic countries as “reluctant Europeans.” The term captures their selective engagement with European integration: a patchwork of currencies, opt-outs, and derogations that reflects distinct national identities and differing concepts of sovereignty.

Akintug illustrated this mosaic vividly. Denmark is an EU member but does not use the Euro and has several opt-outs; Sweden also remains outside the Eurozone; Finland is fully integrated, using the Euro and participating in all EU structures; Norway and Iceland are not EU members at all, though tied economically through the European

Economic Area (EEA). In addition, Greenland and the Faroe Islands, both within the Danish realm, stand outside the EU and maintain their own bilateral treaties with Brussels.

Akintug highlighted Åland, the Finnish archipelago demilitarized by the League of Nations in 1921, as a model of peaceful autonomy and cooperative sovereignty. Yet even Åland faces limits: it must implement EU directives despite its self-government and fiscal derogations. The presentation's conclusion underscored the varied constructions of sovereignty within the Nordic world. Greenland and the Faroes enjoy broader freedom to maneuver internationally than Åland, which is legally bound by Finland's EU obligations. This difference produces an East-West divide within the North, where Greenland's 1985 withdrawal from the EEC (the so-called "Greenlandic Brexit") marked an early assertion of post-colonial independence.

During discussion, questions probed both constitutional and security implications. Participants asked whether international law still safeguards Åland's demilitarized status in a world of weakening legal norms. Akintug replied that its stability endures precisely because states continue to behave as if the regime exists. He also argued that rumors of Russian interest in Åland have no credible basis.

The conversation then turned to Greenland's evolving politics of independence. Since 2023, its government has merged the "Minister of Independence" portfolio with Foreign Affairs, signaling that the island's sovereignty project is now seen as an international diplomatic issue, not merely a domestic constitutional matter. This subtle bureaucratic change reflects how independence is framed within the wider geopolitics of the Arctic.

Finally, the debate linked resource politics to sovereignty. Through the Cod Wars (1958–1976) between Iceland and Britain and the later Mackerel Wars (2010s–2020s) involving Iceland and the Faroes, fisheries emerged as central to northern independence. Both conflicts showed how control of marine resources underpins economic autonomy and how climate-driven shifts in fish stocks will make such disputes more frequent.

#### Analysis of EU–Arctic Relations – Alexandra Paris

Alexandra Paris examined the European Union's gradual emergence as an Arctic actor and the institutional path through which it has tried to define a coherent regional policy. She reminded the audience that the EU's foreign and security decisions are made by consensus in the European Council, a mechanism that both enables collective legitimacy and slows decisive action.

Tracing history, Paris described three broad phases:

1. 1973–1995 – Early Presence: The EU's engagement began through fisheries agreements and economic cooperation with Nordic states.
2. 1995–2012 – Strategic Awareness: With the creation of frameworks such as the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC), the Union formalized its interest. The 2008 Arctic Communication and the 2009 seal-product ban revealed the EU's dual role as regulator and geopolitical actor.
3. 2016–2021 – Consolidation: A clearer EU Arctic Strategy (2021) called for a "stronger engagement for a sustainable and peaceful Arctic."

Paris concluded that Brussels is now balancing energy security, environmental protection, and indigenous rights—a difficult triad in a region where the melting ice simultaneously opens opportunities and magnifies risk. She questioned whether the EU

could, or should, adopt a more ambitious Arctic policy given the current geopolitical climate.

In the ensuing Q&A, the seal ban resurfaced as a case study in diplomatic tension. The ban reached the World Trade Organization, revealing the limits of Arctic forums such as the Arctic Council for dispute resolution. Canada used Inuit representatives to challenge the EU's moral authority within the Arctic Council, while Norway blocked any discussion on fisheries. Divergent cultural values—over issues like whaling—further fragment Nordic consensus: Iceland, Norway, the Faroes, and Greenland continue limited hunts; Sweden, Finland, and mainland Denmark oppose them.

Paris emphasized that despite these conflicts, the EU is learning to engage more sensitively with Indigenous peoples and Arctic states, moving from a purely regulatory approach toward one of partnership and consultation.

Enhanced Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change – Jonathan MacDonald

Jonathan MacDonald's presentation shifted from political structures to technological adaptation, focusing on how semi-autonomous Unmanned Surface Vehicles (USVs) could revolutionize Arctic security and mapping. As melting sea ice opens new maritime corridors, notably the Northwest Passage (NWP), questions of sovereignty and surveillance intensify. The United States treats the NWP as an international strait, while Canada claims it as internal waters—a fundamental legal disagreement that USVs could inadvertently highlight or exploit.

MacDonald introduced the OODA Loop—Observe, Orient, Decide, Act—to describe the adaptive decision cycles that these systems enable. Semi-autonomous USVs can continuously collect and interpret data on sea-ice, shipping, and environmental change, allowing human operators to respond from afar and thus accelerate the decision loop. This capacity offers both strategic advantage and operational efficiency.

He argued that “Arctic exceptionalism”—the idea of the region as insulated from geopolitical rivalry—is ending. In the discussion it emerged that the future Arctic will be characterized by dual or even triple-use infrastructure, where technologies serve defense, commercial, and academic purposes simultaneously. Such overlap fosters innovation but also blurs the boundary between peaceful research and military reconnaissance. In a rapidly shifting global order, unpredictability becomes the new normal.

MacDonald's discussion became concrete when he mentioned recent incidents in which unidentified unmanned vehicles or sensor buoys appeared in Canadian Arctic waters. Indigenous communities and local hunters, deeply familiar with their environment, were the first to detect these anomalies. Their reports triggered federal investigations and highlighted both the importance of Indigenous observation networks and the growing presence of foreign or experimental technologies in contested spaces. These episodes underscore why Canada and its circumpolar partners are investing in autonomous maritime domain awareness—to safeguard sovereignty, environmental monitoring, and safe navigation all at once.

In sum, MacDonald portrayed USVs as tools for fast, flexible Arctic mapping and security, bridging science and strategy in a region where climate change and geopolitics increasingly collide.



12.00—13.00 2<sup>nd</sup> Round of the Role Play Game

13.00—14.15 Lunch

4<sup>th</sup> Session: “Europe vis-à-vis North America”

14.15—16.30 Luleå Technical University, Room TBC

- Heather Nicol, “The North American North and circumpolar borderlands”
- Taylor Clifford Hawk Hoggarth, “We are the Medicine: Two-Spirit, Indigiqueer, Queer and trans-Indigenous people’s kinship, healing, and belonging on the North American land”

*(Rapporteur: Thorsten Kooij)*

Heather Nicol, “The North American North and circumpolar borderlands”

Heather Nicol (Trent University) provided a presentation on the issues of connectivity and borders in the North American Arctic, focussing in particular on the border between Yukon and Alaska. First, a history of the borderlands was provided; the borderlands have always seen a great deal of movement. The indigenous peoples have always moved across borders for their hunting and fishing grounds, thereby creating transboundary trails and paths. Later, these paths were repurposed by prospectors who came looking for gold. Finally, railways, such as the Whitepass railway, and the current road network were built, following the original indigenous roads, illustrating a process of repurposing indigenous knowledge.

However, while the traditional borders were semi-permeable, the current border is more strict, creating issues for indigenous peoples as they may have their hunting grounds on one side of the border, yet live on the other side. Thus, they are required to migrate between different states for their subsistence activities. The Caron report addresses this problem and has improved cross-boundary traffic, yet issues of connectivity remain. On Greenlandic-Canadian borderland, the ‘pikialasorsuaq’ polynya used to be a zone of connectivity, yet suffered from a Canadian enforcement of the borders after the Second World War. However, the introduction of co-management has given rise to new connections. Thus, the opportunities for co-management are illustrated, yet this has seen little use in the Yukon-Alaska borderlands.

Other issues of connectivity pertain to cross-boundary dependencies of certain communities. For instance, the town of Skagway in Alaska and Whitehorse in Canada are mutually dependent on each other, as Skagway is a tourist port for Whitehorse. Yet, under the current Trump administration, the border has lost its permeability, harming the tourist industry. Finally, the increase in wildfires and other natural disasters in the region reveals the lack of infrastructure: the region only houses one major airport, and spatial planning often relies on single roads and oneway tunnels. In case of emergency, especially as tourist numbers are rising, major challenges remain.

In the discussion, the current trend of tightening border controls was discussed, during which it came forward that until 2015, the Canadian border was particularly difficult to cross, yet after the Caron report was released in 2015, the borders became more permeable. Secondly, the presence of gold mining was taken up: it was asked whether there is any contemporary gold mining and how this could evolve as gold is necessary for superconductors. It came forward that gold mining is still present but only

local and that new mines were unlikely due to tight legislation and land claim agreements. Finally, the matter of tourism was taken up, in terms of environmental and societal impacts. Tourism was discussed as crucial for local communities, yet it depends on how it is run, indigenous peoples have also started to set up their own companies, which are rather low in terms of societal and environmental impacts. However, the threat of disasters remains and will only increase under the pressure of climate change.

Taylor Clifford Hawk Hoggarth, “We are the Medicine: Two-Spirit, Indigiqueer, Queer and trans-Indigenous people’s kinship, healing, and belonging on the North American land”.

Taylor Hoggarth (Trent University) provided a presentation on the different views of gender in North American indigenous peoples. The foundation of the research relies on the notion of Land with a capital L: It gives respect to the concept that land occupies more than land alone; it is a living entity. Moreover, it relies on the concept of 2SIQTIP (Spirit, Indigiqueer, Queer and Trans). His research is grounded in a participation of the so-called Qmun indigenous Canadian Youth.



*(Photo: Zhanna Anshukova)*

In his presentation, the historical evolution of gender was discussed. It was revealed how indigenous peoples of the North held a more fluid view of gender and did not adhere to binary representations of gender. Moreover, more fluid concepts of gender were celebrated in their societies. Colonialism altered this conception of gender, leading to current social issues concerning the acceptance of queer persons. The main research question is: What aspects of being on the Land reinforces 2SIQTIP principles?

Based on a methodology grounded in interviews, personal reflections as well as arts-based research, it was seen how indigenous queer persons found comfort on the Land. From the interviews, keywords that emerged concerned emotions; the Land as healing and the Land as giving culture as it demonstrated creation but also resistance. Moreover, the Land was seen as accepting of one's identity, providing a sense of belonging. Other topics that came forward from the interviews concerned the idea of the Northern Land as different and extreme, but still as home. The Land gives a feeling of belonging and comfort; it is queer as it transforms and changes. It builds community and acknowledges intersectionality as being two identities at once. In sum, in order to decolonise the North, we need spaces like 2SIQTIP to overcome rigid gender roles.

In the discussion, first a question arose concerning auto-ethnography. Taylor explained that throughout the project, the concept of a literature review was contested, rather relying on story-telling and incorporating auto-ethnographic experiences throughout the project. In addition, it was asked how Two-spirit and medicine are connected, to which the answer was that community-building acts as a source of wellness and medicine; representation creates medicine. The connection to Euro-Arctic

shamanism and prairie perspectives was also discussed, as these traditions provide different terms and interpretations of gender. In line with this, the role of queerness in animals was discussed and how the animals provided a reflection for the participant in the Qmunity camp. Moreover, in regards to the Qmunity camp, information access concerning sexual relations was discussed. The importance of these discussions is rising, but the remoteness complicates the provision of information. As a follow-up, it was asked whether participants in the camp also returned as part of the organisation or remained otherwise involved. Due to the anonymity of the research, this was difficult to say, yet there were definitely experiences of participants becoming part of the organisation behind the Qmunity camp. Finally it was commented that through how healing and Land are connected, we have forgotten the environment and that we can learn so much from the Land in terms of understanding Climate Change.

16.30—17.00 Visiting Gammelstad Church Town (UNESCO World Heritage Site)

17.00—22.00 *Driving from Luleå to Hetta*

## **Wednesday, 12 November in Hetta & Kautokeino**

08.30—09.00 *Driving from Hetta to Kautokeino*

5<sup>th</sup> Session: “Indigenous Peoples and Europe – the Case of the Sámi”

09.30—12.30 UArctic EÁLAT Institute, Kautokeino

- Welcoming words by Alena Gerasimova, Indigenous Evenki from Eastern Siberia (Yakutia), project leader at the International Centre for Reindeer Husbandry in Kautokeino and researcher within UArctic EÁLAT Institute
- Oula-Antti Labba, “Indigenous governance and the case of Sápmi”
- Eleni Kavvatha, “Indigenous perspectives and EU policy: Navigating mining, the Sámi, and Arctic futures in the context of the Green Deal”
- Natalie Janel Smith, “Youth, homelessness, and hope in Nunavut and the Western Arctic”
- Zhanna Anshukova, “Is the Arctic Shaping Sexuality?”

*(Rapporteur: Jenikka Kirkland)*

The fifth session was held at the Sámi University of Applied Sciences starting with the welcoming words by Alena Gerasimova, EÁLAT institute. Gerasimova is an Indigenous Evenkii reindeer herder from the Sakha republic. She introduced reindeer herding as a concept and the challenges facing modern reindeer herders, such as climate change, increased human development and the opening of the arctic ocean. The EÁLAT institute conducts projects that include workshops, seminars, field activities, book publications, and a traveling food lab. They engage with reindeer herders, Indigenous youth, elders and the scientific community. Gerasimova’s research focuses on taboos in reindeer food culture, particularly the taboo against eating the tip of the reindeer’s tongue. Through traveling seminars she discovered that this taboo is seen across reindeer herding groups in Eurasia.

During the discussion the presenter explained the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on the EÁLAT institute’s research, the impacts of encroaching industry on reindeer herding lands and the lack of support provided by government and corporations.

Challenges include having Indigenous voices heard and the disparity in finances and legal representation between reindeer herders and land encroaching corporations. Gerasimova discussed the generational divide in reindeer herding resulting from young people especially women attending boarding schools and moving to urban centers for careers. However, she stated that youth are beginning to be interested in reindeer herding once again. In Norway, the emerging Sámi youth that are interested in reindeer herding are on the rise but struggle against government caps on reindeer population numbers. The presenter elaborated on her research on food culture in reindeer herding culture and the differences and unity between different reindeer herding groups such as in blood sausage recipes and reindeer milking methods.

Next Oula-Antti Labba, teacher and researcher at the Sámi University of Applied Sciences presented on the topic of Indigenous law and governance in Sápmi. He began by introducing Sápmi and the Sámi people as well as the consequences of modern national borders on Sámi reindeer herders. Labba explained that Finland has ratified the central human rights conventions but has not ratified ILO convention no. 169 because of the dualist model which involves adapting international treaties into domestic law prior to considering said treaties for ratification as well as a lack of solution to recognizing collective land rights of the Sámi. He also stated that The Constitution of Finland (731/1999) section 17 is in his interpretation based on ICCPR article 27 and aims to protect traditional Sámi livelihoods, while section 121 protects the Sámi region, language and culture. As a result of Finnish Sámi not having recognized collective land rights in their homeland, the Forest Administration manages 90% of the Finnish Sámi's homeland. Labba highlighted the fact that reindeer herding is also practiced by non-Indigenous people in Finland and Sámi siidas are not recognized in Finnish law. The presenter concluded that in many ways reindeer herding is weaker in Finnish law than in Swedish and Norwegian law but Finnish Sámi have used the United Nations human rights bodies to fight for their rights.

The discussion included following topics (Q&A):

Q: How does Nordic cooperation between states affect Sámi governance?

A: The Sámi council does not have an official position on the Nordic council but there have been discussions about including them.

Q: Because land ownership is under the Finnish state are there any legal implications for Sámi reindeer herders? Do the Sámi have a legal ability to advocate against incursions on their grazing lands?

A: The reindeer grazing right is recognized by the Finnish state on both private and state lands. However, the infrastructure constructed by the government on state lands may have impacts for the Sámi regardless of their right to graze. The Sámi do have the opportunity to take the government to court over infrastructure projects on their land but the infrastructure has to be deemed to violate the Sámi's constitutional rights to practice their traditional culture.

Q: How do international levels of governance such as the Arctic Council empower the Sámi?

A: The Arctic Council is a very important forum to discuss and plan the future cooperation in the arctic among Indigenous peoples and states. However, cooperation has broken down over recent years.

Q: What would the difference be if ILO Convention no.169 was implemented in Finland?

A: ILO Convention no.169 is a legally binding human rights convention so it is hard law versus soft law such as UNDRIP which has been recognized by the Finnish state. In terms of land rights, the convention would force the state to recognize ownership and governing rights of the Sámi. Ultimately, it would strengthen the collective land rights and self-determination of the Finnish Sámi. However, at a practical level Labba doubted that the Sámi would be able to achieve a veto right.

Eleni Kavvatha presented on the topic of EU policies and the impact of the green transition on Indigenous peoples. The presenter expressed that the EU policy for the arctic focuses on sustainable development, however, whether the EU is achieving this can be debated. The European Union's Green Deal policy states "leave no one behind," Kavvatha's research analyses whether the EU is achieving this in terms of indigenous peoples. The green transition requires significant raw minerals, to not be dependent on outside powers the EU is reliant on a raw minerals that are located in Sápmi. Kavvatha highlighted key concerns with this approach including



(Photo: Tatiana Petrova)

choosing mining over other land uses such as reindeer herding, fast tracking of permitting, lack of homogeneity in policy from nation to nation, and lack of meaningful consultation as well as lack of funding for Indigenous peoples to attend consultations. Kavvatha illuminated the case of Kiruna in which LKAB (mining company) understood the mining deposit lay on an important herding route but did not consult the community before announcing their intent to open a second mine with support of the European Union. Similar projects are seen in other parts of Sápmi. Reindeer herders are rightsholders with minimal resources, but when it comes to consultation they need to be well-versed in mining, forestry, windpower and other industries in order to understand the consequences of development and defend their rights. Kavvatha proposes incorporating oversight mechanisms at the EU level, incorporating provisions to make consultation accessible for Indigenous peoples, increase statistics on minority and ethnic groups, and create resources to determine who is conducting publishing information.

The discussion included following topics (Q&A):

Q: As a result of fast-tracking environmental impact assessments, cumulative impacts are often ignored. How has this impacted the Kiruna site?

A: Over the decades that the mine has been operating a new generation of reindeer herders have come to the fore and the initial compensations are no longer benefitting this next generation.

Q: What kind of energy powers these mines?

A: Oil is used in Kiruna, however, it depends on the region and it depends on the mine.

Afterwards Natalie Smith presented “Youth, homelessness, and hope in Nunavut and the Western Arctic.” This summer she worked with youth in the Canadian North that struggled with housing insecurity. Smith noted that there are unique challenges to housing in the north such as the high cost of construction, low vacancy rates, dated and dilapidated infrastructure, insufficient housing stock, overcrowding and long wait times for subsidized housing. Smith found that Inuit were 10x more likely to live in an overcrowded home than any other group in Canada, this results in health challenges, increased domestic violence and sleep deprivation. This was directly linked with educational achievements. The presenter highlighted that hidden homelessness is increasing across the Western Arctic, this includes couch surfing, living in vehicles and other forms of homelessness that are less visible than living on the street. Hidden homelessness increases an individual's risk of becoming visibly homeless and living on the street. Hidden homelessness in northern Indigenous communities is mitigated through kinship connections, however bouncing between relatives and community members contributes to the low high school graduation rates of Indigenous youth in the north. Smith stated that housing conditions are directly linked to mental health including chronic stress. The youth suicide epidemic in Canada's north has been declared a state of emergency and Smith links this directly to the housing crisis in the region. The presenter proposed solutions to this challenge including retrofitting community buildings to become housing, increasing the number of shelters available for unhoused people and developing drop-in centres for youth that can provide support for mental health and finding resources on housing.

The discussion included following topics (Q&A):

Q: What drew you to this topic?

A: I have been to Alaska and the Canadian North many times, however, this summer I worked with an NGO that focused on community-based STEM education programming. This was an amazing experience and I knew about food insecurity in the region. However, I was not prepared for the lack of housing in the north and the number of homeless youth I would be working with. Some of the youth were staying in communities that were not their home community and away from their parents and family. For example, there were youth as young as 5-7 found sleeping outside. After this experience I became interested in researching the topic and was shocked by the lack of existing research on the subject.

Q: How are children so young left completely to their own devices?

A: At such a young age the children do not know where to look for resources and they are left completely to their own devices. The legacy of colonialism has broken Indigenous families in Canada and often the youth need a place to stay while other relatives prepare to take them in or their parents receive the help they need.

Q: How have short-term rentals such as AirBnB and tourism impacted youth homelessness in the Canadian North?

A: Many of these small communities have hotels that cost upwards of \$500 CAD per night and are primarily used for people coming from the south. However, these hotels are not used for temporary shelters as this would not be profitable for the hotel.

Q: How have the people experiencing these conditions expressed political frustration? And who is the frustration directed at?

A: While the government does have some programs, the existing housing is overcrowded and dilapidated and new programs take a lot of time to develop. As a result of this, communities are very angry with the federal government.

Q: Are there resources provided by social workers?

A: The social workers in community that understand the colonial legacy (ie. Sixties scoop) do not want to involve the government in local issues. They try to provide the youth and families with help that allows the children to stay in community rather than be sent elsewhere.

Q: What are some solutions that are not a colonial bandaid? How would you address other issues such as unemployment, poverty etc.?

A: The lack of funding in the north is a major issue. The city of Iqaluit has created an integrated youth services action plan that focuses on all aspects of youth wellbeing, including culturally appropriate programming, developing youth education about the labour market, creating a sense of belonging for youth, and addressing physical and mental health needs. The city of Iqaluit has recommended other northern cities implement this program if funding is available.

The final presentation was given by Zhanna Anshukova entitled “Is the Arctic Shaping Sexuality?” The research aims to address how students in the Arctic and from different cultural backgrounds understand sexuality and how this has been transformed while studying at an Arctic university. Anshukova highlights the remoteness and isolation of the Arctic, however, her research participants felt that the isolation created a sense of closeness and visibility. On the other side privacy is highly valued in Northern communities as a way of making the closeness and visibility more bearable. The research participants mentioned heritage, religion and colonial legacies as influencing their sexuality. Anshukova highlighted that in theory it is understood that the past speaks through moral language, Foucault refers to this as a genealogy of sexuality. The participants described their nations of study as liberal equal and open-minded. Despite the accepting nature of these liberal societies Anshukova emphasized that there continues to be a heterosexual hegemony even in these liberal nations. The presenter concluded that the students move between visibility and privacy in their lives though concepts such as tradition may be restrictive they can also provide moral clarity. Ultimately, the arctic is a dynamic field of tension and sexuality is shaped through everyday negotiations of traditions, openness, and visibility.

The discussion included following topics (Q&A):

Q: How did you determine which students/research participants were included in the study?

A: I asked students what their connection to the Arctic was in order to determine who was born and raised in the Arctic versus moved to the Arctic for school. This way I can contrast the difference between people who are native to the Arctic and those that are newcomers.

Q: How is eye contact and the gaze factored into this conversation, especially in regards to visibility?

A: Most of the research was conducted by online questionnaire so there was nothing to do with eye contact. In the interview portion non-verbal queues were coded, however, eye contact was not a large data point.

Q: Are you planning on separating the university setting from the Arctic setting in terms of norms in relation to sexuality? Will it be possible to separate the student culture from the Arctic culture given your methodology?

A: One of the research questions is how arctic universities influence sexuality, so the intention is not to separate the student experience out from the Arctic experience. However, most respondents stated that the university did not influence their sexuality. Though, many research participants mentioned their interactions with exchange students as influencing their perspective. Arctic universities have high percentages of exchange students so this may influence how sexuality is perceived.

Q: What does the Sámi conceptualization of sexuality look like? How can pre-colonial views of sexuality be understood in comparison to your research?

A: Based on some responses the impacts of colonialism continue to influence sexuality. However, I do not study Sámi sexuality in particular.

Q: Has your research shed any light on how sexual relationships are perceived between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples?

A: This may come up in the research but is not a main goal of the research.

Q: Did Sámi respondents explain how universities as a colonial institution shaped their understanding of sexuality and indigeneity?

A: This specifically did not come up. However, it is a very interesting idea and I would like to look for it next as I delve further into my research.

Q: How would conducting this research in less liberal areas of the Arctic such as Alaska or Russia impact your research especially in terms of visibility and openness.

A: Some of the respondents said they would like to change their gender expression but they live in a small town and they do not go to social events so there is no point and they would be overly perceived in such a small settlement. This sentiment is likely shared in other areas of the Arctic regardless of liberalness.

12.30—14.30 Lunch & Excursion to Čoarvemáttá (Sámi National Theater, Sámi High School, Reindeer Herding School, and NOMAD Indigenous Food Lab)

*(Rapporteur: Karim Maïche)*



Čoarvemátta, officially opened on August 21, 2024, is the new shared facility of The Sámi National Theater Beaiváš, and the Sámi High School and Reindeer Herding School, two important cultural institutions of The Sámi settlement area of Sápmi in Kautokeino. It is a shared facility housing The Sámi National Theater Beaiváš and The Sámi High School and Reindeer Herding School.



*(Photo: Eleni Kavvatha)*

It was conceived to strengthen Sámi cultural institutions and provide a unified space for performance, education, and traditional knowledge. The project began in 2020, with design and construction led by Snøhetta, 70°N Arkitektur, and artist Joar Nango. Norwegian architecture firm Snøhetta was also behind designing the famous library in Alexandria, Egypt, in 2002.

The name comes from the Sámi words “čoarvi” and “mátta”, meaning “horn” and “root”, which characterize the strongest part of the reindeer antler - often used in duodji, traditional Sami crafts and handicrafts. The main lobby of Čoarvemátta features a rich collection of Sámi art, showcasing both traditional and contemporary expressions, from renowned Sámi artists such as:

Máret Anne Sara – known for her politically charged installations using reindeer skulls and sinew. Britta Marakatt-Labba – famous for her narrative embroidery depicting Sámi history and mythology. Fredrik Prost, Laila Mari Brandsfjell, Merethe Ella Márjá Kuhmunen, and others – each bringing unique perspectives rooted in Sámi identity

The space is designed to immerse visitors in Sámi culture from the moment they enter. Čoarvemátta’s lobby isn’t just a waiting area—it’s a curated experience that celebrates Sámi resilience, creativity, and heritage.

The school currently has around 100 students (more accurately 96) and offers a three-year program. Its curriculum includes wood construction, traditional handicrafts, and reindeer economy—where every part of the animal is utilized. Students also learn practical skills such as snowmobile construction. The facility includes a kitchen to support daily activities.

While the building is architecturally striking and rich in symbolism, one of the accompanying teachers noted that it is not always the most practical for everyday teaching. The classrooms are often too small for hands-on instruction, and the highly curated, exhibition-like design of the space makes it difficult to adapt or expand. Despite these challenges, the school benefits from shared access to a theater and concert hall, enriching the cultural and educational experience.

14.30—16.30 3<sup>rd</sup> Round of the Role Play Game

17.00—19.00 Driving from Kautokeino to Hetta

## Thursday, 13 November in Hetta & Ivalo

### 6<sup>th</sup> Session: “Industry and the European ‘Green Deal’”

09.00—11.30 Town Hall of Enontekiö, Hetta

- Welcoming words by a representative of Enontekiö Municipality
- Jenikka Kirkland, “Indigenous reindeer herders and the oil and gas industry: Triumphs and failures”
- Urban Wråkberg, “A Green Transition of Euro-Arctic Industry: The Swedish experience in global context”
- Gerald Zojer, “The social force of Big Tech: Economic imaginaries and the everyday life”

(Rapporteur: Natalie Smith)

Jenikka Kirkland, “Indigenous reindeer herders and the oil and gas industry: Triumphs and failures.”



(Photo: Natalie Smith)

Our first presentation this morning was by Jenikka Kirkland, a Master's student at the University of Northern British Columbia. Jenikka's presentation focused on the experience of Indigenous reindeer herders in the Norwegian side of Sapmi in Hammerfest and on the Yamal Peninsula in Sabetta, Russia. Guiding Jenikka's analysis were research questions that focused on the development of natural gas projects on reindeer pastures and the following response directed by the political conditions in the given regions, and how the response has been shaped by the differing goals of Indigenous groups. Looking at the case of Snøhvit and Melkøya in Hammerfest, liquefied natural gas projects caused a huge divide in the

community, as many Sami and non-Sami individuals supported the economic prosperity associated with the pipeline. With the creation of the Sabetta community for the support of an LNG project along the Yamal Peninsula, there were discussions raised around the lack of political capacity for the Indigenous peoples impacted by this project. Jenikka found that both projects can be viewed through a procedural justice and distribution justice lens, where the decision-making process in both case studies is unfair and where the impacts of the development are not shared equally among all stakeholders.

Dr. Lassi Heininen, the leader of the Calotte Academy, expressed that the question of economic and political security for the Sami and Indigenous peoples in Russia is truly one of the most pressing topics across the Circumpolar North. For the Nenets of the

Yamal Peninsula, their voice is not heard in the same way as Sami individuals in Hammerfest, who have been able to advocate for their support for or opposition against the LNG projects. While Sami populations have been divided over gas projects, the Nenets struggle to retain their nomadic lifestyle, which is hindered by pipeline development. Urban Wråkberg raised critical points about the prejudice that Sami individuals face when they do want to see more energy development that brings their community economic benefits, and the corruption of the Russian Federation that misleadingly labels LNG projects on the Yamal Peninsula as a "positive" development for the Yamal Nenets. Taylor Hoggarth also raised important points about the lack of access to perspectives and evidence-based research from the Yamal region and the examination of other potential case studies, such as the Inuvik reindeer herd.

Urban Wråkberg, "A Green Transition of Euro-Arctic Industry: The Swedish experience in global context."

Professor Urban Wråkberg followed with his presentation on the EuroArctic Green Transition. Urban's lecture focused on comparative outlooks of the metallurgical industry in Sweden and the greening of subarctic mining in northern Norway, Finland and Russia. Urban contextualized the blast furnace process used in steel making in Sweden, and the development of the HYBRIT hydrogen steam vapour process, and the site of Boden - Luleå as an ideal



*(Photo: Natalie Smith)*

location. Currently, in Sweden, there are huge quantities of carbon dioxide produced from steelmaking, which has resulted in an eruption of conflict, particularly over land and differing perspectives from individuals located inside and outside of the major mining regions. The potential transition to steamworks raises questions over the public's understanding of science, as the HYBRIT process is extremely energy-intensive and does not erase the numerous detrimental impacts that the metallurgical industry produces, impacting lands and people. Right now, GRANGEX is set to reopen their Sydvaranger mine in 2026, which has led to a major overhaul in the evaluation of the iron ore deposits located on the site and its operational strategy to capitalize on their contributions to the green transition, which they say steel is necessary for.

Heather Nicol and Lassi Heininen discussed the reopening of the mine, making room for debate, as the mine has already been reopened on multiple occasions despite the public citing major environmental concerns. Jenikka asked how the mine will be powered, as the new electrolysis process that the mine will be operating on is extremely energy-intensive. Urban described that energy will have to come from an area north of the current power grid, meaning that the new operations will likely be hydropowered, which itself is another source of conflict regarding land use. Doaa Abdel-Motaal raised key points around the public's perception of the green transition and whether Urban thinks the world is prepared to see the major amounts of extractivism that will be needed to facilitate the green transition. Urban describes that to make this happen most feasibly and affordably, we need extreme innovation and the development of new technologies,



as well as a decreased global reliance on expensive, rare-earth materials. Thorsten Van Der Kooij and Martina Timmermann also raise concerns about economically sustainable mining and what this will need to look like moving forward.

Gerald Zojer, “The social force of Big Tech: Economic imaginaries and the everyday life.”



*(Photo: Natalie Smith)*

Our final presentation before visiting the Enontekiö Airport was by Gerald Zojer. Shifting gears with this presentation, Gerald’s presentation focused on the big picture of economic imaginaries and the social force of “Big Tech” in everyday lives. Focusing on science, technology and society, Gerald argues that any and all technology is not neutral but rather it is embedded in culture, values and politics. As algorithms are

becoming increasingly used in everyday life, it is important to turn our attention towards their impact and agency as a political concern. In the USA, the internet was funded by the National Science Foundation, and it was initially illegal to use the internet for business purposes until the Clinton administration. While the internet was once associated with counter culture and empowerment, Gerald argues that the major technological shift has been associated with economic imaginaries and directed by the financial sector and their ideas of how technology should be developed and utilized. Gerald concludes that Big Tech thrives on the privatization of public governance that emphasizes individualism and undermines democracy while enriching political agendas in their technologies.

Karim Maïche was interested in how Gerald finds these technologies further embedded in everyday life, to which he finds that the algorithms we all use and consume are normalizing thoughts around the individual being responsible for themselves and not trusting services that are supposed to help them and pushing the narrative that you have to be online to be marketable. Ekaterina Kundele Sofroneeva raises questions around how Big Tech and algorithms are shaping the Arctic specifically. Gerald describes how Big Tech has played a role in how social organization is changing in the North and leading communities away from cooperation and towards reliance on technologies. This is also applicable when we consider the growing militarization across the Arctic. Urban, Lassi, Thorsten and Hasan Akintug discuss how algorithms are shifting the dominant school of thought, and taking away from the freedom of knowledge and speech while altering the public's perceived role of science and what information people are able to access online while pushing right-wing agendas and limiting democratic narratives. All of these discussions show us why there needs to be a deeper exploration of data sovereignty and privacy over personal data, such as data related to health, travel patterns and spending habits.

11.30—12.30 Visiting Enontekiö Airport

*(Rapporteur: Taylor Hoggarth)*

After the sixth session, we embarked on a drive to the Enontekiö Airport. We were greeted by a full-time worker of the Airport. Enontekiö Airport is a small but mighty airport; here, tourism plays a vital role in the employment of the airport and importance to the municipality. In fact, tourism brings approximately 75% of the municipality's turnover. The Enontekiö Airport officially opened in 1981, originally owned and operated by Finavia. However, in 2021, the airport was bought by the Municipality. Through the presentation that was offered, we had learned that this airport was an EU certified, compliant international airport. Additionally, the airport occupied the correct infrastructure for international travel, including passport check, customs, and more.

During the off-season, which was disclosed as the summer months, the airport has 5-6 permanent employees. However, during the busy tourist months – the busiest month being December – they have over 20 seasonal workers. Recently, the municipality won the prize for the tourist region of Finland. The airport plays a vital role in the municipality's tourism, bringing 25,000 people through the airport; including a projected climb of an additional 10% per year. As of right now, a majority of the tourists come from Great Britain.

During our question period following the presentation, conversations regarding the development of the airport, the preparing of runways, aircrafts that are present, decision making powers, flight schedules, situations on domestic flights, military activity, emergency drills, and plans for growth were discussed. Through this question session, we learned about the airport more in depth.

Following this question session, we were given a guided tour of the airport. Here, we visited the watch tower, saw the passport check, terminals, baggage claim, and airport security check. This allowed us to use the knowledge that we curated from the presentation and visualize the airport through real-life experience.

#### *12.30—16.30 Driving from Hetta to Ivalo*

- Tatiana Petrova, “Calotte Academy goes digital!”

During “Calotte Academy goes digital!” brainstorming, participants discussed how the Calotte Academy could operate and develop in a digital format. A brainstorming discussion focused on potential digital platforms, formats of engagement, and possible target audiences for online activities.

#### *16.30—18.30 Visiting UTAC*

- Janne Seurujärvi,  
“Introduction to car and tyre testing”

During the visit to UTAC participants had the opportunity to see the testing facilities and equipment, as well as attend a presentation introducing the company and its activities.



*(Photo: UTAC)*

*18.30—19.30 Driving from Ivalo to Inari (Vasatokka Youth Centre)*

## **Friday, 14 November in Inari**

08.30—10.00 Juutua Trail and Laavu (BBQ) at the Jäniskoski Rapids

7<sup>th</sup> Session: “Russian perspectives” (in-person & on-line)

10.00—13.00 Lassinkota (SAKK, Sámi Education Institute)

- Sophie Baxter, “The “Green Deal” – Will Europe be climate-neutral by 2050?”
- Yulia Zaika, “Shifting objectives: How International Polar Year has shaped the international science environment”
- Lassi Heininen, “The strategic partnership between Western Europe / the ‘West’ and Russia – behind a bright future!”
- Doaa Abdel-Motaal, “Key differences in the geopolitical profiles of the Arctic and the Antarctic”

The session “Russian Perspectives” opened with welcoming words from the Sami Education Institute (SAKK). The introduction highlighted the historical and contemporary geopolitical context of the Inari region. The introduction also acknowledged Finland’s recent accession to NATO, marking a major shift in regional security dynamics.

Larisa Riabova offered greeting remarks on behalf of the Kola Science Center, presenting the institute and its scientific agenda. She emphasized the long-standing academic cooperation between northern institutions, while also acknowledging the challenges currently affecting cross-border collaboration.

Yulia Zaika – “Shifting Objectives: How the International Polar Year Has Shaped the International Science Environment”

Yulia Zaika analyzed how the International Polar Years (IPY) has shaped the international science environment. She identified six common structural features across all IPY cycles: administrative and organizational environment, financial resources, geographical presence, human capital, technological and innovative capacity, and programmatic expansion. The fragmentation of the scientific community under the “New Cold War” climate was highlighted as a major risk to future polar research.

Sophie Baxter – “The Green Deal: Will Europe Be Climate Neutral by 2050?”

PhD researcher Sophie Baxter from the Luzin Institute for Economic Studies, Kola Science Center, presented an analysis of the European Green Deal, its regulatory frameworks, and its implications for the Arctic. She discussed the impacts of EU climate policies on Arctic economies, the interaction between geopolitics and environmental regulation, and how Arctic ecosystems respond to decarbonization efforts.

Lassi Heininen – “The Strategic Partnership Between Western Europe/The West and Russia Behind a Bright Future!”

Professor Lassi Heininen discussed theoretical models of political behavior and the evolving EU–Russia relationship. Themes included: competing frameworks: resource-power vs. identity-knowledge; how geostrategic position shapes national interests; historical goals of EU–Russia partnership, particularly around markets and

energy; tensions between reciprocity and asymmetric expectations; the reasons behind the collapse of previously strong common interests.

Doaa Abdel Motaal – “Key Differences in the Geographical Profiles of the Arctic and the Antarctic”

Doaa Abdel Motaal concluded the session with an overview of geopolitical, legal, and environmental distinctions between the Arctic—a populated, politically complex region—and the Antarctic, governed by the Antarctic Treaty System. Key points of her presentation included: historical land claims in Antarctica and nuclear testing concerns; mining ban negotiations under the UN system; differences in governance regimes and similarities in climate vulnerabilities.

#### Conclusion

The “Russian Perspectives” session highlighted the profound transformations in Arctic geopolitics, scientific cooperation, and environmental policy. Across presentations, a recurring theme emerged: science, security, and climate policy. Despite current tensions, speakers emphasized areas where future cooperation remains essential, particularly in climate science, Arctic ecosystems, and long-term regional stability.

13.00—15.00 Lunch & Visiting Siida—Sámi Museum and Nature Center (TBC)

#### 8<sup>th</sup> Session: “Global Commons”

15.00—17.00 Lassinkota (SAKK, Sámi Education Institute)

- Tom Gabriel Royer, “Conceptual paradoxes of Arctic & Space sustainability, between promised eco-futures and ecological realities re Europe’s Arctic spaceports”
- Thorsten Van Der Kooij, “The European Union between blue justice and maritime security: The Ocean Pact and its implications for the Arctic”
- Karim Maïche, “Multiplex World Order and the militarization of the Arctic: perspectives from the Global South”

*(Rapporteur: Hasan Akintug)*

The eighth session of Calotte Academy 2025 took place in the afternoon of November 14, 2025. The local was Lassinkota at the Sami Education institute (SAKK). The first presentation of the session came from Tom Gabriel Foyer titled “Conceptual Paradoxes of Arctic & Space Sustainability: Between promised eco-futures and ecological realities re Europe’s Arctic space ports”. Foyer started with a singing performance which jolted the audience back to life during a busy afternoon. Foyer’s presentation started with highlighting the interconnectedness of climate policy and space policy and noted that conceptual paradoxes regarding contemporary climate policy also exists in space. He showed the continued belief in the primacy of economic growth, conceptual vagueness and geopolitical asymmetries as conceptual paradoxes in contemporary space policy discussions. His presentation used the idea of a “continuum” as a core concept which would elucidate concerns regarding the environmental effects of state activities in space. He concluded his presentation with an eloquent theme-appropriate poem.

The Q & A session included more specific issues such as state practices in space largely being based on undelimited and vague concept of “space”. In reaction to an

audience member question, Foyer observed that many states define Space as “the common heritage of man” but treated it like a park lot when they securitize it. Another issue brought up by an audience member was about governance structures in space and their repercussion. Mr. Foyer argued space was in a “grey zone” and increasingly becoming host to economic war by proxy. The discussion also included the role of social responsibility in Space, which then brought attention to the fact that there is an increasing privatization of space activity.

The second presentation of the day was given by Thorstein Van Der Kooij titled “The European Union Between Blue Justice and Maritime Security: The Ocean Pact and its implications for the Arctic”. Mr. Van Der Kooij began with reminding the audience through his charming personality that he needed no introduction after a few days together in the Calotte academy. His presentation began with a description of the Ocean Pact, which is a non-binding document that aims to create a formal Act by 2027. Regarding its connection with the Arctic region, he claimed that any marine spatial planning directive from the EU would have an impact on the Arctic. Van Der Kooij also highlighted the tension of the EU’s geopolitical ambitions and sustainability policies in Arctic.

The Q&A session after the second presentation started with a participant question about the prime agent within the EU pushing for the act. The answer was the European Commission, which is in line with the Von Der Leyen commission’s geopolitical ambitions to create a “geopolitical commission”. Another question which came from the audience asked if the Arctic was perceived as a “new ocean” for the EU, which according to Van Der Kooij was not as the document focused primarily on the North Atlantic. The following question asked questions about the Europeanization of coastal Arctic states, particularly Norway with its close alignment with the EU. As a response, Van der Kooij reminded the audience that the pact is non-binding at this point but argued that the document constructs the Arctic as a European concept.

The third presentation during this session came from Karim Maiche, which was titled “Multiplex World Order and the militarization of the Arctic: perspectives from the Global South”. Mr. Maiche provided a very conceptual approach to the Arctic region, with perspectives from post-colonialism studies. He started by reminding the audiences of the origins of the concept of the “third world” which unlike its use in common parlance, has a positive rather than a negative connotation. Mr. Maiche then addressed the idea of a multiplex world order which was defined as the absence of a global hegemon and proliferation of different actors in the global system. He noted that European history tended to be presented as universal and this is now being increasingly challenged. Mr. Maiche state that “the West” was the core concept that drives his analysis which he hopes to be able to bring to the Arctic region. He argued that this concept existed on four dimensions: Geographical, Historical Narration, Values, Political Agency. He then contemplated which angle would be the most appropriate to go about his analysis. The issue discourses on race and whiteness and perhaps a more institutional approach around the Arctic Council was discussed.

The discussion included mentions of the Arctic states and their treatment of their respective indigenous peoples. This was in response to an audience member reminding that to become an observer to the Arctic Council, a state had to invest in the Arctic region, such as funding Arctic research. While Mr. Maiche acknowledged his expertise lay outside the field of Arctic governance, he also highlighted the negatives effects of colonial relationships between the Arctic states and their indigenous peoples. This



provided a parallel to the broad practice and experience of colonialism, related to Mr. Maiche's presentation. Lassi Heninen also encouraged him to continue following this research idea, referring to the Global Arctic project established in 2014 and argued that climate change was the biggest factor driving the heightened interest in the Arctic. The discussion concluded with a short discussion of imaginaries, and how much the second Trump presidency has disrupted the traditional understandings of the "West".

Overall, the session built on the tension between the spatiality of nature and the socially constructed of the governing structure upon which human imaginaries are thrust upon. It gave intellectual stimulation about the relationship between human beings and nature, and a critical approach to ideas we take for granted while discussing policy that affects nature.



(Photo: Tatiana Petrova)

17.00—18.00 4<sup>th</sup> Round of the Role Play Game

18.00—19.00 Visiting PaPaNa pub

20.00—23.00 Sauna & ice hole

## **Saturday, 15 November in Sodankylä**

09.00—11.45 *Driving from Inari to Sodankylä*

12.00—14.00 Visiting Sodankylä Town Hall

9th Session: Dr. Stephanie C. Lefrère, FT "Sodankylä Town Hall and Report on Climate Roadmap 2035"

(*Rapporteur*: Jillian Archer)

The Calotte Academy visited the Sodankylä Town Hall in Lapland, where Dr. Stephanie C. Lefrère provided a warm welcome. Coffee, tea, and a selection of traditional baked goods were offered, giving participants an opportunity to converse, enjoy refreshments, and prepare for the session ahead on their final day. Dr. Lefrère introduced the Sodankylä Climate Roadmap 2035, a municipal strategy aimed at reducing carbon emissions while realizing sustainable development initiatives and balancing the municipality's traditional values with key economic sectors, including mining, forestry, agriculture, berry picking, and hunting. Since the Academy's previous visit, the roadmap was approved with a vote of 16 in favour and 11 opposed. Notably, several initial opponents have altered their stance after engagement with them, reflecting the municipality's shifting approach to collaboration with local residents and businesses.

A key challenge discussed was the tension between economic development and environmental preservation. As the EU moves to reduce dependency on China for critical minerals, Sodankylä faces two approved prospecting projects within nature reserves.



(Photo: Doaa Abdel-Motaal)

These projects juxtapose the need for critical minerals in green technologies, such as batteries, alongside the imperative to protect local biodiversity. While the roadmap does not call for ending mining operations, it seeks to integrate them into sustainability efforts, including

linking outputs to renewable energy projects such as solar panels and electrification of mining fleets.

Dr. Lefrère presented data on climate trends and environmental impacts in Sodankylä: average temperatures have risen by 2°C since 1908, and the migration of southern species northward has increased the risk of local species extinction by 8–12% (Red List). Although the municipality may not fully meet its climate targets, progress in carbon sink calculations and renewable energy initiatives are promising.

- The roadmap is organized into four main action lines:
  - Reduction of Greenhouse Gases and Promotion of Renewable Energy
  - Renovation of municipal buildings to serve as examples
  - Transition of municipal machinery from diesel to electric
  - Public engagement to encourage sustainable consumption
  - Strengthening Carbon Sinks
  - Biodiversity protection and sustainable forestry
  - Soil carbon sequestration in agriculture
  - Local food production and improved waste management
  - Sustainable tourism initiatives
  - Climate Adaptation
  - Flexible public services, infrastructure planning, and health and safety

measures

- Community Participation
- Workshops and public events to increase engagement
- Education programs promoting local awareness and responsible

consumption

Mining, the municipality's largest employer, is a central focus. Initially apprehensive, mining companies have participated in planning workshops and now contribute to roadmap implementation. Agriculture, especially reindeer farming, contributes to a smaller share of emissions but has seen a significant decline in farm

numbers over recent decades. Household consumption in food, housing, services, and transport also factors into the municipality's carbon footprint.

Calotte participants raised questions on mining participation, workforce policies, and electrification. Dr. Lefrère noted that mining operations are incorporated into the roadmap in ways that support renewable energy and biodiversity, without ceasing activity. Workforce-related questions clarified that EU nationals rarely work in Finnish government roles, and Dr. Lefrère herself has been contracted locally but that she herself has lived in the region for over 25 years. Electrification and renewable energy adoption were also discussed. Wind power projects have faced local opposition due to disruption concerns, while electrification of municipal machinery and EU funding for renewable projects are ongoing. Local residents showed interest in local food sourcing. Dr. Lefrère described the "General Food of Lapland" project, which encourages restaurants to buy directly from local producers such as fish, shortening supply chains and supporting sustainable consumption while maintaining local economies.

Biodiversity and climate impacts led to further conversation. Dr. Lefrère emphasized that education, community involvement, and practical adaptation measures are essential to preserving local ecosystems. The integration of traditional livelihoods into the roadmap demonstrates a balance between economic activity, environmental protection, and cultural values.

14.00—15.30 Final Round of the Role Play Game

15.45—18.00 *Driving from Sodankylä to Rovaniemi (arrival at the airport by 17.30)*



# ABSTRACTS

Doaa Abdel-Motaal: Visiting Professor of Polar Studies

Sciences Po Paris

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## **Key differences in the geopolitical profiles of the Arctic and the Antarctic**

As the race for the poles gathers pace, this lecture will aim to establish key differences in the geopolitical profiles of the Arctic and the Antarctic. First, while the race for the Arctic is maritime, the race for the Antarctic is about both land and water. In the Arctic, competition is gathering pace over natural resources and new shipping lanes. In Antarctica, success in the conquest of the world's seventh continent will require a broader set of diplomatic, legal, technological and other skills since the question of sovereignty looms larger. Antarctica's territorial claims will need a final and comprehensive settlement that goes beyond the current freeze of the Antarctic Treaty. In addition, the battle for Antarctica could turn out to be as much about its living space as its mineral resources.

Second, while the Antarctic Treaty has demilitarized Antarctica, and is in fact considered to be one of the most successful demilitarization agreements, the Arctic is heavily militarized, with plans currently underway to militarize it further. It remains to be seen whether militarization will be a force for peace or for conflict.

Third, the main players in the Arctic are better defined than in the Antarctic. The 'Arctic Five' hold the keys to most major issues up north, with China slowly inserting itself into the mix through its financial and logistical power. The growing Sino-Russian alliance is emerging as a counterweight to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), with some of the smaller Arctic states luring Chinese investments. While the voice of Arctic indigenous communities is likely to continue to carry great moral weight, it remains to be seen how decisive it would prove to be on critical questions to do with the future governance of the Arctic. The situation is more complex in Antarctica, where the two main countries that are likely to play a decisive role in determining the future of the continent do not have territorial claims; namely the United States (US) and Russia. This lecture will delve into all of these issues and many more.

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## **Nordic Territorial Autonomy and the European Union: Winds of Change?**

The three cases of territorial autonomy within the Nordic region are Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Åland. All three have substantially different relationships with the supranational structures of the European Union (EU). Greenland maintains Overseas Territories Status while remaining outside the union, the Faroe Islands also remain

outside the EU and have bilateral treaties governing the relationship, Åland is a part of Finland's membership however is exempted from tax harmonization through a special protocol attached to Finland's accession treaty. The divergence on EU policy is reminiscent of Nordic-EU relations at the state level, something which has brought about the idea of the Nordics as "reluctant Europeans". Åland's representative in Brussels has received the title of "minster counsellor" and diplomatic status within Finland's diplomatic corps in 2021. The Faroe Islands have signed a memorandum of understanding with the EU on several issues, including Arctic matters in 2024. The reorientation of Greenland and the EU towards each other within the context of changing Arctic politics, symbolized in the recent establishment of an EU office in Nuuk in 2024 highlights the importance of this analysis.

This paper aims to analyse the sovereignty constructions of Greenland, the Faroe islands, and Åland vis-à-vis the EU. By using policy papers produced by the governments of the three cases between 2009 and 2024, the paper will analyse how the three island realms views on the EU converge and diverge in how they position themselves in relation to the EU. The analysis will be conducted through constructivist methodology which will stress how the EU features in their political discourses and what identity and policy prescriptions the three cases provide. This paper will provide an unusual and often under analysed perspective within the larger framework of European studies.

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### **Is the Arctic Shaping Sexuality?**

This presentation forms part of my ongoing PhD research project *How Sexuality Is Understood: Student Perspectives from Arctic Universities*, which investigates how understandings of sexuality are formed and transformed in the cultural environment of Arctic higher education. The Arctic, as both a geographical and sociocultural region, provides a unique context where students with different cultural backgrounds negotiate global narratives of sexuality through local norms, histories, and identities. The study applies a social constructionist approach and draws on mixed qualitative materials, including questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with students from the University of Lapland and UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

In this presentation, I discuss preliminary results from an open-ended questionnaire and interviews exploring how respondents perceive the influence of their cultural background on their sexuality. Focusing specifically on responses from students born or raised in the Arctic, the analysis highlights how their reflections are shaped by intersecting social forces. Among other themes, students' answers reflect the role of religious upbringing in constructing sexual norms and taboo; the relevance of Nordic liberal values and public openness regarding sexuality; and the influence of Indigenous (Sámi) identity and colonial histories on the experience and articulation of sexual subjectivity.

These preliminary results suggest that for many students, the Arctic is not a homogeneous cultural space but a site of tension and negotiation between tradition and

liberation. Their everyday understandings of sexuality emerge where global discourses of freedom and equality encounter localized expectations, values, and historical structures. Rather than drawing final conclusions about “Arctic sexuality,” this presentation demonstrates how students’ voices illuminate the coexistence and sometimes conflict of diverse cultural scripts within the region.

These early insights contribute to building a more nuanced account of how sexuality is shaped within Arctic educational and social environments and open pathways for continued investigation in the following stages of the research.

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### **Colonial Legacies of Ontario Energy Policy: Historical Influences and Contemporary Impacts**

This thesis examines the enduring colonial legacies embedded in Ontario’s energy policy, analysing how historical governance frameworks and resource development practices continue to shape contemporary energy planning. By employing historical and policy analysis, including archival research and Indigenous perspectives, the study traces the evolution of Ontario’s energy infrastructure, from the development of early hydroelectric projects to the formation of modern electricity policy. These structures often reinforce unequal power relations, limiting Indigenous authority and shaping how energy development unfolds across the province. The research highlights that energy planning in Ontario cannot be fully understood without acknowledging the persistence of these colonial frameworks and their implications for Indigenous rights, environmental sustainability, and social equity. By situating contemporary policy within a postcolonial framework, this study underscores the importance of decolonizing energy planning and governance. It emphasizes that addressing structural inequities requires not only the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives but also a rethinking of how energy systems are designed, managed, and controlled. Such an approach is necessary to build energy futures that are socially just, inclusive, and environmentally sustainable. Furthermore, this research critically examines the historical narratives, economic incentives, and institutional practices that have historically privileged settler interests over Indigenous communities, revealing the mechanisms through which colonial legacies persist. While Ontario serves as the primary focus, the findings extend to broader contexts. Similar colonial frameworks have shaped energy infrastructures and governance systems nationally and internationally, reflecting a global pattern of resource control and marginalization of Indigenous voices. Consequently, the insights from this study can inform efforts beyond Ontario to challenge colonial legacies in energy policy and to promote more equitable and sustainable pathways forward.

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## **The “Green Deal” – Will Europe be climate-neutral by 2050?**

This paper examines the progress made by the European (EU) Green Deal and assesses whether, in 2025, the EU is on course to become climate neutral by 2050. This question has been chosen for research because if the EU does not reach its Green Deal 2050 net-zero emissions goal, its leadership position could be greatly harmed. The credibility and global influence built through its proactive climate policies might be weakened, leading to serious consequences for worldwide climate efforts and the EU’s reputation.

This study examines authoritative reports and media documents to delineate regions where progress is consistent with the goals for achieving climate neutrality by 2050, as well as areas where progress is inadequate. This study also analyses the increasing geopolitical pressures influencing the EU Green Deal and its related transitional policies aimed at achieving climate neutrality by the year 2050. The research findings are illustrated using a graphical method.

The climate objectives outlined in the Green Deal are codified in the European Climate Law, which imposes a legal obligation on the European Union to achieve a reduction in greenhouse gas emissions compared to 1990 levels. Specifically, the targets are a 55% reduction by 2030, a 90% reduction by 2040, and a complete reduction of 100% by 2050. Our analysis indicates that the EU Green Deal has made significant strides in mitigating net greenhouse gas emissions. In 2023, the EU recorded its largest annual reduction, achieving an 8.3% decrease compared to the emissions figures of 2022, bringing total net emissions to 37% below the baseline levels identified in 1990.

While these figures are encouraging and suggest that the EU is on track to achieve its 55% reduction in greenhouse gases by 2030, our analysis concludes that more effort is needed to maintain momentum toward this goal. Projections using data from existing measures in 2024 indicate that net emissions in 2030 could be closer to a 47% reduction, falling short by 8% of the 55% target. By incorporating planned but yet-to-be-implemented measures into these calculations, a slightly higher net emission reduction of 49% is projected, resulting in a shortfall of 6% from the 55% target. The gap between planned targets and projected emissions widens beyond 2030. With currently adopted measures plus those planned but not yet actioned, projections show a net emission reduction of 62% by 2040 and 66% by 2050. This represents a shortfall of 28% against the 90% target for 2040 and a 44% shortfall against the legally binding climate neutrality target of 100% by 2050.

This study concludes that the EU Green Deal must continue to develop new, ambitious policies and measures to further reduce emissions in the coming decades if it is to achieve its 2050 target. However, any new ambitious policies will require continued acceptance and support from the EU community. This need for support arises at a time when public opposition and coordinated backlash against Green Deal policies, often referred to in the media as “greenlash,” are rapidly gaining momentum across Europe. The term «greenlash» refers to the political and public opposition to the ambitious



policies of the Green Deal, including its binding 2050 net-zero emissions target. This greenlash has become a prominent focus of media attention and is becoming one of the most significant geopolitical issues currently facing the EU. While abstract support for climate action generally remains high, this increasingly falters when personal and economic costs become clear. Opponents argue that the policies are too costly, harm the economy, disproportionately burden citizens and farmers, and have become overly politicised. Terms like “Eco-dictatorship” or “Globalist elite” are examples of populist anti-green rhetoric.

This study concludes that to keep the Green Deal on track for achieving zero net emissions by 2050, new, ambitious policies are necessary, which require strong public support. At the same time, EU policymakers are being increasingly pressured to adopt a pragmatic, more balanced approach that favours immediate real economic competitiveness and value over abstract longer-term climate change goals.

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Lassi Heininen

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### **The strategic partnership between Western Europe / the ‘West’ and Russia – behind a bright future!**

Although it was not an “end of history”, that of the Cold War period meant a victory of democracy & capitalism by the ‘First World’ over centralized, control system & socialism by the ‘Second World’, in particular after the Soviet Union was collapsed. In a new era of unipolarity or multipolarity the ‘West’, in particular Western European countries, and the Russian Federation found shared, common interests on several fields - energy & trade, security (terrorism), arms control (Russian-US), science & technology (nuclear energy), the environment (nuclear safety, climate change) – and started to build strategic partnership for stability, as well as to avoid a new arms race, increasing military tension and armed conflicts. The partnership, however, never achieved its goals and failed.

The presentation will start by a short description of theories (Cooperation in competition, Functionalism, Interdependence, Strategic partnership, Integration, Alignment & Alliance), and by that of Soviet / Russian – West relations in the end of the Cold War. Then it describes and analyzes the aims and objectives of the strategic partnership between Western Europe and Russia. Thirdly, it analyzes why the partnership failed (before February 2022), and why its objectives were not achieved. Finally, the presentation will analyze and speculate outcomes and ramifications of the failure, and who are the winners & losers.

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## **We are the Medicine: Two-Spirit, Indigiqueer, Queer and Trans Indigenous People's Kinship, Healing, and Belonging on the North American Land**

This paper is inspired by my Master's research where my research question aims to address the lack of understanding that Two-Spirit, Indigiqueer, and Trans Indigenous people's identity can be intersectional. Specifically, I plan on addressing how this lack of understanding can further have misconceptions of Northern 2SIQTIP's identity and their connection to the Northern Land. Thus, my research question is: "What aspects of being on the Land reinforce identity for Two-Spirit, Indigiqueer, Queer and Trans Indigenous people (2SIQTIP)?"

This question has risen from my lived experience. For myself and many other 2SIQTIP people the journey to understanding identity is not a clear path. There is a common lack of awareness that our identity can be intersectional. This lack of awareness can be attributed to an absence of representation of and guidance for being Queer in Indigenous communities.

The lack of representation and cultural understanding has affected many 2SIQTIP, particularly in the North. Because of colonization, the teachings associated with being 2SIQTIP have been suppressed and lost.

The Land itself is resistant in its being. The Land has shown throughout history and time that it is one of the most resilient beings. A lesson that many 2SIQTIP and others can relate to. The colonial gender binary system and heteropatriarchy was placed upon the Indigenous people of North America. We were taught through the Residential School system, and other means of assimilation, these concepts. Unfortunately, as a result many Indigenous nations lost their traditional teachings on Gender and Sexuality. However, the Land stayed true to its original instructions.

The Land holds our truest form of identity as Queer folk; fluidity. The Land, the lakes and rivers, the wind, the sun, the moon, the rain, and the seasons are all fluid in their identity. The Land does not stay in one fixed motion, instead, it's constantly ever-changing. The Land understands and accepts our identity as it is. This was evident in my connection and discussion with the Land.

Through this paper, I will determine the relationship with the Circumpolar Land for Indigenous Queer people, before and during colonization.

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### **New geographies of Arctic militarization: on military land use and Indigenous rights in Sápmi**

In the Nordic “High North” or Sápmi, as the Indigenous Sámi people call their Indigenous homeland, militarization is currently experienced above all as expanding military land use which can potentially have broad impact on regional development and futures while competing with traditional and Indigenous livelihoods, especially reindeer herding. In this presentation, I examine the geographies of militarization in Sápmi by summarizing the key findings of my recent report on the impact of militarization on Sámi culture, livelihoods and rights in Finland, commissioned by the Sámi Truth and Reconciliation Commission and published.

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### **Indigenous Perspectives and EU Policy: Navigating Mining, the Sámi, and Arctic Futures in the Context of the Green Deal**

The future of Europe, especially from a Northern and Nordic perspective, is deeply intertwined with the region’s environmental challenges, geopolitical tensions, and the shifting dynamics of global power. This project explores the intersections of European Union (EU) policies, the Sámi Indigenous peoples, and the Green Deal in the context of these turbulent times.

As Europe faces the mounting pressures of the climate crisis and great power rivalries, particularly in the Arctic, the role of Indigenous communities like the Sámi becomes increasingly critical. Their perspectives, deeply rooted in centuries of ecological knowledge and cultural resilience, offer essential insights into sustainable futures for the European North. Yet, the Sámi experience also highlights the complexities of European governance and policy, where Indigenous rights and interests often conflict with broader state agendas, including energy policies and national security concerns.

The EU’s Green Deal, aimed at achieving climate neutrality by 2050, presents both challenges and opportunities for the Sámi and the Arctic region. While the Green Deal seeks to address environmental security and promote sustainable economic development, it also raises questions about the inclusivity of policy frameworks, the preservation of traditional knowledge, and the protection of Indigenous land rights in the face of industrial expansion.

As the EU pushes forward with its climate agenda, it must balance environmental goals with the needs and rights of marginalized communities, including the Sámi, who are disproportionately impacted by climate change and energy transition policies.

This presentation will examine the implications of the EU's Green Deal for the Arctic and Sámi communities, highlighting the potential for greater Indigenous participation in shaping EU climate and energy policies. By critically analysing EU policy frameworks, Indigenous governance systems, and the evolving role of the Sámi, the discussion aims to foster a more inclusive and equitable approach to the future of Europe.

In the broader context of Europe's future, this presentation underscores the importance of bridging the gap between state-driven policies and Indigenous-led solutions, advocating for a policy approach that respects cultural sovereignty, enhances environmental security, and advances the goals of the Green Deal in a truly inclusive and holistic manner.

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### **Indigenous Reindeer Herders and the Oil and Gas Industry: Triumphs and Failures**

The aim of this paper is to identify modes of maximizing benefits and minimizing negative impacts of oil and gas projects on the livelihoods Indigenous reindeer herders. The project centers on two distinct Indigenous groups in two dissimilar political contexts. The first case is the Nenets reindeer herding community impacted by the Yamal LNG (Liquefied natural gas) project in Sabetta, Russia. The second case focuses on the Saami impacted by the Snøhvit in Hammerfest, Norway. Snøhvit is a natural gas field off the coast of Hammerfest, the project is accompanied by the Melkøya liquefaction plant which is set to be electrified by 2030. Each case is set in a unique sociopolitical context that shapes the Indigenous communities' capacity to respond to threats and opportunities presented to them by the oil and gas developments occurring in their regions. The outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine war has altered the course of Indigenous rights in Russia leaving Nenets reindeer herders with limited options for expressing their autonomy. In Norway, the recent Fosenvind lawsuit has set a new precedent and empowered the Saami with paths to ensure their rights are upheld. The research was conducted through interviews with subject experts and content analysis of grey literature, academic publications and social media pages. The theoretical basis of the research paper is energy justice, however decolonial theory and the just transition concept play a crucial role in the framing. Through comparative analysis of these three distinct cases it can be determined how Indigenous reindeer herders with varying levels of sovereignty can exert their rights to protect the land and benefit from oil and gas activity within their territory.

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### **Indigenous Governance and the case of Sápmi**

The presentation explores the future of Europe from a northern perspective, focusing on indigenous governance and self-determination of the Sámi people in the Sápmi region. The northern and Sámi viewpoint highlights the interconnected challenges of climate change, resource politics, and cultural continuity—issues that test the limits of conventional European governance models.

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### **Multiplex World Order and the militarization of the Arctic: perspectives from the Global South**

The shifting global political and economic landscape is giving rise to a multiplex world order—an increasingly complex system marked by the absence of a single hegemon and the presence of diverse actors, including states, corporations, social movements, and non-state entities. As Amitav Acharya argues, multiplexity is not merely multipolarity, but a deeper transformation involving interdependence, multi-level governance, and cultural-political pluralism.

This evolving order has significant implications for the Arctic, where climate change, resource competition, and strategic rivalries have intensified militarization and geopolitical interest. The Arctic is no longer a peripheral zone but a core arena in global power negotiations involving Russia, the U.S., China, and European states. This presentation examines Arctic militarization through the lens of multiplexity and a critical view of “the West,” exploring how the Global South—often excluded from Arctic discourse—might interpret and engage with these transformations. How can Arctic politics be reimagined from perspectives beyond the Western-centric narrative?

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### **The North American North and Circumpolar Borderlands**

In the North American North, national borders, although present, have not prevented the continuation of strong cross-border and transnational ties. There is a horizontal, east-west dynamic to mobility, governance, transportation and economic infrastructure. While this type of interconnectivity is found throughout all of the sub-regions within Circumpolar North, details and patterns in North America are distinctive. The experience of colonization and settlement of the North American Arctic, the Cold War and Indigenous land claims have played a role, as have influences of globalization.

Historically, the establishment of land and maritime international boundaries divided the North American North into three national entities – Canada, the United States and Greenland (Denmark). But mobility and transactions across these borders remained relatively fluid until the mid-to-late 20th century. Not the least this is because of the presence of Indigenous cultural communities, interests and organizations that cross borderlines and national entities. But it is also because both state and non-state actors within, and without the region have created cross border institutions and infrastructures in support of common geo-economic, social and environmental concerns. It is also because of the shifting relationship to southern economies, cultures and governance structures. The logic and success of this connectivity varies in time and space, but it has shaped a region in which meaningful borderlines are increasingly horizontally oriented and regional, rather than vertically-oriented and nationally determined.

This paper recognizes undertakes a sub-regional study which is focused on interconnectivities among places of ‘sameness, and the networks that that connect the within the North American North. Using case studies situated in Alaska, Canada and Greenland, it suggests that despite differences and tensions among North American Arctic states, interconnectivity is normative and critical, and in doing so suggests a that the particulars of the North American Arctic relationship provide a framework of cross-border engagement that speaks to the unique features of the region.

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### **The invasion of Ukraine in 2022 as a kind of stress test of the Sino–Russian relationship**

In this presentation, I will analyse carefully the recent ceremonial manifestations of Sino–Russian joint statements and illustrate that the invasion of Ukraine in 2022 is a kind of stress test of their relationship. The new Sino–Russian relationship of the Xi Jinping and

Vladimir Putin era rests on a solid foundation — the common goal of resisting the hegemonic policies of the United States and Western values of liberalism. However, closer observation of this foundation reveals that it is built on a mire of latent but discernible historical distrust. I will carry out a detailed analysis of Sino–Russian joint statements and communication between the leaders that constitute the highest form of a state-to-state relationship. By analysing these joint declarations before and after the outbreak of the Ukraine War, we can discern that the war has cast a shadow over the Sino–Russian relationship. Donald Trump's second term strategy of containing China and driving a wedge between Sino–Russian relations has had the reverse outcome — it has brought China and Russia once again closer to each other. However, the isolationist policies of Trump have opened for China novel possibilities to strengthen its global position whilst Russia remains a bystander as the remaking of the new world order is ongoing.

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### **Analysis of EU-Arctic relations: Understanding the past to contextualise the present**

The European Union's (EU) involvement in the Arctic has been shaped by a complex mix of history, geography, and evolving geopolitical interests. Here, the term geopolitics will be used in its contemporary sense, as a synonym for international politics. Although Europeans were among the earliest explorers of the Arctic, the EU as a political organization only began to develop an Arctic dimension after the accession of Finland and Sweden in 1995, creation of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC) which opened the way for the launch of the Northern Dimension.

From this period, the EU gradually expanded its ambitions in the region, especially focusing on economic and energy interests, sustainable development, environmental protection, scientific contribution, and diplomacy.

Yet, the EU's presence in the Arctic has been marked by persistent challenges. Externally, it has faced scepticism from Arctic actors, for example regarding the ban on seal products in 2009. Internally, Arctic engagement is not homogenous : while some European countries have been granted observer status in the Arctic Council, others show little direct interest. Furthermore, the EU's complex bureaucratic decision-making processes limit its ability to act decisively and quickly. Despite significant investments in Arctic research and environmental initiatives that highlight its commitment, the EU still struggles with coherence and visibility as an Arctic actor.

This presentation examines the evolving EU relationship with Arctic governance, particularly through the Arctic Council. Understanding how this relationship developed in the past is crucial for contextualizing the present. The EU's attempts to integrate into Arctic governance reveal both achievements and obstacles. Today, both Europe and the Arctic face profound changes: ongoing war, Russia's suspension from the Arctic Council,

migration crises, fragilised democracies, and accelerating climate change all contribute to a more unstable context. These challenges raise a central question: to what extent do they compromise the EU's ability to act as a consistent and credible partner in the Arctic?

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### **Conceptual Paradoxes of Arctic & Space Sustainability Between Promised Eco-Futures and Ecological Realities re Europe's Arctic Spaceports**

As Europe seeks strategic autonomy in outer space, Arctic-based commercial spaceports such as Esrange (Sweden) and Andøya (Norway) are increasingly framed as key infrastructures for a sovereign European space sector, but also as contributors to "Arctic sustainability". Space programmes and technologies positively contribute to Sustainable Development Goals (Baumgart et al., 2021). However, in 2024, Sámi communities in Sárvuopmi raised concerns over reindeer grazing habitat loss caused by proposed new Esrange landing zones; and in Andøya, the recent failed launch of Isar Aerospace's rocket does not soothe earlier anxieties voiced by local fishers. These examples highlight the worldwide tensions between stated commitments to sustainability and the environmental impacts of space infrastructures. Are space and sustainable development an "impossible marriage" (Kalafatian 2022)?

This presentation critically examines the concept of "space sustainability" as articulated in the UN COPUOS Guidelines for the Long-Term Sustainability of Outer Space Activities (2019). While these guidelines largely focus on the orbital environment, growing awareness of terrestrial consequences calls for a broader perspective. Recent scholarship on Earth-Space Sustainability (Yap & Truffer, 2022) and policy efforts such as the Scottish Space Sustainability Roadmap (2022) attempt to address this gap by expanding the concept of 'space sustainability'. However, they fail to address broader "conceptual paradoxes" embedded in the Brundtland-era notion of sustainable development (Demaze, 2009), including the primacy of economic growth (allegedly compatible with environmental protection and able to solve the problems of poverty and social inequality), conceptual vagueness, and geopolitical asymmetries. Ultimately, can Europe's space future be truly sustainable — for both Earth and orbit — without fundamentally rethinking its developmental assumptions, legal frameworks, and geopolitical strategies?

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### **Youth, Homelessness, and Hope in Nunavut and the Western Arctic**

Homelessness and housing insecurity in the Arctic is a growing crisis. Despite the growing assumption that this is a real crisis that affects hundreds if not thousands of children, youth and families, the factors that lead to youth homelessness are under-researched and not well understood. In the western and northern regions of Nunavut, community buildings are being retrofitted to accommodate the growing number of homeless youth and the lack of bed spaces in the shelters available. While many communities are steering programs and attempting to implement strategies to prevent youth homelessness, a lack of funding and sources for educational support and community crisis intervention strategies means that there is little support for youth who are facing unsafe housing, violence, and inadequate care.

Experiences of homelessness in the Arctic have been generalized as an experience of Indigenous and Northern peoples, and have been attempted to be solved with southern solutions. Intergenerational trauma rooted in colonial practices, policies and violence, a lack of affordable housing, mental health challenges, isolation, and a lack of social programming and culturally rooted crisis intervention resources have made it challenging to respond to youth homelessness at a regional level. Hidden homelessness is a growing experience faced by youth in Nunavut who may not appear to be traditionally “homeless” but rather lack a permanent home and who would be on the streets if they did not have friends, family, or community members to live with temporarily.

Understanding the root cause of homelessness in northern communities and not generalizing experiences of homelessness may help to highlight how communities can respond to homelessness and support unhoused youth from the bottom up. When communities are given the resources to support their struggling populations, they can practice self-determination and a decrease reliance on external agencies. In this paper, I will further explore homelessness and crisis intervention in the Western Arctic and Circumpolar North more broadly, as well as investigate long-term investments in housing infrastructure and community-driven initiatives to support homeless youth.

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### **Greenland: Actors’ engagement towards the renewable energy ecosystem**

Greenland, with its vast territory and unique geographic location, presents both opportunities and challenges for developing energy infrastructure and transitioning to a

greener future. This article analyses the engagement of various actors in the Greenlandic energy ecosystem, examining the interactions among communities, companies, infrastructure, and policy frameworks.

Greenland possesses abundant renewable energy resources, including hydroelectric potential from the melting waters of the ice sheet, wind, and solar power, which offer opportunities for clean energy generation. Nowadays, hydropower and wind energy are utilized to cover the electricity needs of large cities. Several hydropower projects are in development, with the potential to reduce the island's dependence on fossil fuels and decrease greenhouse gas emissions. However, the harsh Arctic climate and remote location present challenges for energy infrastructure development and operation.

By incorporating insights based on the empirical data from diverse participants—including the national energy company, academia, government, entrepreneurial hub, and community members—this research provides a broader view of the complex dynamics shaping Greenland's energy landscape. The article highlights key opportunities to advance a sustainable energy transition in Greenland, while also addressing the urgent needs for climate action and indigenous involvement.

The Greenlandic energy ecosystem is defined by its unique socio-economic context, geopolitical importance, and vast potential for renewable energy. As Greenland strives to reduce reliance on imported fuels, combat climate change impacts, and empower local communities, the shift to sustainable energy sources becomes increasingly critical. This article explores the interconnected elements of the Greenlandic energy ecosystem and suggests pathways toward a resilient, equitable, and low-carbon energy future.

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### **The European Union between Blue Justice and Maritime Security: The Ocean Pact and its Implications for the Arctic**

In June 2025, the European Commission adopted the European Ocean pact, a comprehensive strategy with the aim to provide a backbone for future EU ocean governance. Among others, the Arctic and the Baltic are named as priority areas of the European Union, thus illustrating the priority given to the Northern reaches of the Union. The main aim is to create a single-reference framework across six different sectors, among which environmental protection but also maritime security and defence. As such, this multi-sectoral approach to ocean governance poses an interesting question to the Union; as the EU positions itself as a driver for the green transition, the combination of maritime security and environmental issues poses a seemingly paradoxical relation, illustrative of the broader antagonism between militarisation and environmentalisation. Building on recent developments in marine governance literature, this contribution seeks to understand the consequences of this multi-use approach for the future of the Northern seas. Tied to discussions in International Relations and Science and

Technology Studies, this contribution wonders how the EU creates an imaginary of the future of the North. Through the lens of assemblages and ontological politics, the Ocean pact and associated documents are seen as the result of a process of inclusion and exclusion of certain aspects of the marine environment, thus generating a particular imaginary of marine spaces (Jasanoff and Kim, 2015). Consequently, it is sought to uncover how the EU includes and excludes certain actors in its Ocean Pact and thereby engages in an act of negotiation (Callon, 1982).

Moreover, focus will be put on the way in which the EU imagines sustainability at sea. Debates concerning environmental justice have illustrated the issues concerning concepts of blue economy and blue growth. (Barbesgaard 2018; Bennet et al., 2019; Germond-Duret, 2022). This critical reflection on the European concept of sustainability will provide additional understanding of the ontological politics of the EU and the aforementioned balancing act in which the Union engages in the Ocean pact.

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### **A Green Transition of Euro-Arctic Industry: The Swedish Experience in Global Context**

In studying the current green transition of the Euro-Arctic region there is a need to contextualize widely and place in historical perspective the political and economic issues relating to how expertise is consulted to guide investments and political decisions. How should the plethora of interest in and around the green transition be understood in democratic settings, in the media and in opaque decision-making in the business sector, within the military and among totalitarian regimes internationally? In this analysts will be helped by drawing on insights produced in STS and history of science focusing e.g. the “public understanding of science”. The latter has been seen as anything between an obstacle to sound (technocratic) management based on professional hegemonies of (in practice always socially constructed) expertise, to a fickle media-driven and trend-based irrational process of political and public opinion forming. In the dominating reductionist perspective on public opinions regarding heavy industrial, raw material or energy production, these are often dismissed as NIMBY agitation, while the relevant historical trajectory of collective memory over larger or smaller segments of society are more complex than that, exhibiting opposing views often overlooked or dismissed as suboptimal and/or uninformed by the larger society.

Despite the unwieldiness of interdisciplinary research already on a micro sociological and ideological level, greening needs to be placed in a context of overlapping knowledge fields often discussed separately in their relation to major societal change, including geo-economics, security (in the present academic diverse ways of understanding it), technology, science, environmentalism and political ethical deliberation.

The presentation will discuss the above approach in its relevance to the contemporary initiatives and intense public debates accompanying the attempts to green subarctic

mining and metallurgical industry in Sweden, with comparative outlooks on northern Norway, Finland and Russia.

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### **Shifting objectives: How International Polar Year has shaped the international science environment**

The polar global agenda, whether related to the Arctic or Antarctic regions, or both, is becoming more internationalized and even more politicized nowadays. With the current rapid changes in climate that are intensely observed and experienced in the polar regions, as well as political, technological, and novel triumphs and constraints that affect science and the scientific community in the form of fragmentation and division, the polar science realm requires more structured and ambitious governance and understanding. Given the upcoming Fifth International Polar Year (IPY-5) in 2032-2033, its historic fundamental significance, and current planning process, there is a need for a deeper look at the historical role of many nations involved in science at the poles, as well as equitable opportunities for the discussion of shared goals and values, in order to accelerate global technological and innovative development in a sustainable manner.

Apart from these ambitious discussions and when considering the IPY as one and a half millennia long process, it is very important to understand how the agendas, objectives and goals have evolved and shaped during the period of changing internal and external factors by passing through several economic and technological processes, including several industrial revolutions, political disputes, wars like World War II, economic and colonial expansions, and many more. The next IPY (2032-2033) promises to be a global science program that brings together innovative and technological novelties of the new paradigm. The common features of IPYs: 1 - administrative and organizational environment; 2 - financial resources; 3 - geographical presence; 4 - human capital; 5 - technological and innovative capital; 6 - program expansion. One of the most important and exponentially accelerating feature of all IPY periods is the growth of human capital which includes the geographical expansion.

The retrospective picture of the historical pattern of IPY demonstrates that the research community is resilient and adaptable to the political developments in the long perspective and stabilizes in the course of time. In her presentation the author will try to outline the future of science dialogue using the retrospective model within the historic process of the International Polar Year.

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### **Legal regulation of the status of the official language in the places of compact residence of Indigenous peoples of the North in the Yakut Arctic**

The conducted research leads to the finding about the law of the Constitution of the Russian Federation enshrines the modern Russian literary language as a mandatory means of official communication in all publicly significant areas (education, legal proceedings, paperwork, media, etc.). The law introduces mechanisms for linguistic expertise in Russian, and the National Dictionary Fund is compiled in Russian. Additionally, the law explicitly states that the mandatory use of Russian does not diminish the rights of citizens to use the state languages of the republics and the languages of the peoples of Russia.

Thus, Federal Law No. 53-FL of June 1, 2005 (edited on April 22, 2024) «On the State Language of the Russian Federation» establishes a legal balance between the function of the national lingua franca and the constitutional obligation of the state to preserve linguistic diversity, providing regulatory guidelines for the development of regional programs to support minority languages in areas where Indigenous peoples of the North live in close proximity.

Particular attention deserves the legal implementation of the status of the official languages of the Indigenous peoples, enshrined in the Constitution of Sakha Republic (Yakutia). Currently, there has been an alarming situation, characterized by a significant gap between the legal recognition of the languages of Indigenous peoples as official in their compact residence and practical implementation of this status. Despite the fact that the Constitution of Sakha Republic (Yakutia) and the Law of Sakha Republic “On the Status of Languages of the Indigenous peoples of North” consolidate the status of official languages behind these languages. However, in reality, there are no clear mechanisms for the implementation of this provision.

The paperwork in the languages of the Indigenous peoples of the North is episodically, most regulatory acts of the municipal level are not translated into the languages of Indigenous peoples, and legal proceedings in these languages are practically not carried out. Moreover, the unpreparedness of the administrative and managerial apparatus to work with documents in the languages of the indigenous peoples of the North creates an additional barrier to fully realize the linguistic rights of Indigenous peoples.

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### **The Social Force of Big Tech: Economic Imaginaries and the Everyday Life**

Big Tech is associated with significant power and influence and the social force behind these transnational corporation significantly affects the societal development also in the European Arctic. This paper analyses the interests and mechanisms behind this social force by utilising approaches from Science and Technology Studies with International Political Economy. It identifies the dominating economic imaginary behind Big Tech as a techno-authoritarian form of neoliberalism, which seeks to privatise governance, promotes market faith, encourages responsabilisation and attempts to establish a techno-deterministic meritocracy. The paper concludes that through the adoption of Big Tech technologies in everyday life the embedded economic imaginaries contribute to a renegotiation of hegemonic order, challenging the welfare state and liberal democratic systems of the European North.

# Calotte Academy 2025 Role Play Game material

United Nations' Security Council

Re: International & Inter-sectorial Negotiations on "The Future of Europe between Green Transition and Militarization - Learned Lessons from Arctic Cooperation"

## Invitation

This is an invitation to participate in the international negotiations on "The Future of Europe between Green Transition and Militarization - Learned Lessons from Arctic Cooperation" under the auspices of the United Nations' Security Council.

The negotiations will take place in 10-15 November 2025 in different locations of the European Arctic and Sapmi. They will be started on 10<sup>th</sup> of November 2025 at 15:00 pm at University of Lapland in Rovaniemi, Finland, and run until the afternoon of the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 2025 in Sodankylä.

Professor Lassi Heininen represents United Nations' Security Council, and is asked to chair the negotiations. His mandate, given by the Secretary General of the UNs, is technical and does not allow him to influence to the contents of the negotiations.

The Background Context of, and the guidelines for, the negotiations are enclosed. Please, examine them carefully, and if needed, do not hesitate to contact.

You are the most welcome to attend the negotiations.

Sincerely yours,  
Secretary General  
United Nations

For Role Play Game at Calotte Academy 2025

## **"The Future of Europe between Green Transition and Militarization - Learned Lessons from Arctic Cooperation"**

### **Background Context**

The full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, in 2022, is dramatically changing the European security architecture and political agenda. It increases instability in Europe, and has opened a new arms race by increasing the military budgets of the NATO member-states, even up to 5% of GDP (demanded by the USA government). Though, the Ukraine war *per se* did neither start the new arms race and modernization of nuclear weapons by great powers, nor escalated armed conflicts in the Middle East, it has increased militarization in European societies and media, as well as strengthened enemy pictures and caused war hysteria among citizens.

Among collateral damages of the war - triggered by, and provoked by the NATO enlargement towards the Russian borders, since 1999 - is that the strategic partnership between Western Europe and the Russian Federation is over, and the original goals were never reached. Among the outcomes of this are EU and NATO member-states' sanctions against Russia and military support for Ukraine, increasing rivalry between the West and Russia (economically and politically supported by several BRICS countries), and the related lack of communication between Western European leaders and Russian ones.

All this – directly and indirectly – retards and postpones the transfer from hydrocarbons to alternative energy production and energy saving, and increases the use of hydrocarbons, in particular oil (for the military), and decreases the motivation to change political priorities and allocate funds and investments for climate change mitigation. Correspondingly, this postpones, if not ruins, plans and programs, such as the great EU one, for “Green Transition”, and makes leading policy-makers to hesitate and become reluctant to make the hard decisions. And . More damaging, in the longer run, is that political agenda and the majority’s minds are, almost totally, occupied by the politics of fear and the related threat / enemy pictures - underlined by security establishments and exaggerated by mainstream media -, instead of peace, cooperation and a concern on the future of the Planet.

Here the post-Cold War Arctic - with its established cooperative structures, and the Arctic states and Indigenous peoples being committed to maintain peace and cooperation (e.g. Reykjavik Declaration 2021) - has contributed by a high level of geopolitical stability. This model of regional governance and cooperation – also called an “Arctic model” – is neither necessary exceptional nor unique but rare (see, the Russian-US cooperation at the International Space Station) in the world politics of the 2020s. Similarly, the Arctic region has potential to play an important role as a ‘laboratory’ of the Anthropocene, and a ‘workshop’ of governance, transdisciplinarity and transculturalization. Indeed, despite the temporary pause of the Arctic Council’s work, new guidelines for its Working Groups were accepted, and the rotated chairship was smoothly transferred, in May 2025, from Norway to the Kingdom of Denmark. And, again the Arctic States, supported by Indigenous peoples’ organizations, reaffirmed their commitment “to maintaining peace, stability, and cooperation in the Arctic” (Romssa – Tromsø Statement 2025).

The motivation behind is formulated and shaped mostly by three factors: Firstly, the Arctic states and Indigenous peoples continue to reiterate the desired end of their Arctic policies and activities, noting the challenges the region faces in managing regional affairs and mitigating climate change in an increasing polarized world. Behind are certain common interests – e.g. maritime safety, search-and rescue, marine oil-spill response, fisheries, and mitigation of climate change – which the Arctic states still share; Secondly, and even more importantly, several special features of Arctic geopolitics and Arctic security – ee.g. the original nature of Arctic militarization, no armed conflicts, high degree of international legal certainty, self-governing, and soft forms of governance – are still in place; and Thirdly, the cooperation has produced an awareness of the high value of intangible things, such as knowledge, learned lessons, hope, and confidence – as human-made achievements (see e.g., Heininen 2024; Devyatkin 2022).

Finally, the achieved geopolitical stability and resilient cooperation of the Arctic region is one of those values. These are values which could be used, if there is patience and political will, as lessons to learn, after being applied, for the future of Europe.

#### Among reading materials:

Devyatkin, Pavel (2022). “Can cooperation be restored?” *Arctic Yearbook 2022. The Russian Arctic: Economics, Politics & Peoples*. Online: <https://arcticyearbook.com>  
Heininen, Lassi (2024). “Geopolitical Features, Common Interests and the Climate Crisis: The Case of the Arctic.” *Geneva Paper 35/24*. GCSP. Online: [www.gcsp.ch](http://www.gcsp.ch)



Reykjavik Declaration (2021). On the occasion of the Twelfth Ministerial Meeting of the Arctic Council in May 2021 in Reykjavik.

Romssa – Tromsø Statement (2025). On the occasion of the Fourteenth Ministerial Meeting of the Arctic Council on 12 May 2025.

Calotte Academy 2025

### **Guidelines for the Role Play Game at CA2025**

As earlier informed, the program of the Calotte Academy 2025 includes 4-5 rounds of Role Play Game on “The Future of Europe between Green Transition and Militarization - Learned Lessons from Arctic Cooperation” (see, Background Context).

The main aim of the Role Play Game at the Calotte Academy 2025 is to simulate international negotiations on firstly, how the Future of Europe, between the objectives of green transition and pressure of militarization, is seen, interpreted and analyzed by relevant actors / stakeholders; and secondly, if Arctic cooperation, which has managed to maintain high stability and constructive (functional) cooperation, could, and how, be used as a lesson to learn. The main goal of the negotiations is to find and brainstorm ways and best practices how, and by whom, to (re)build confidence between parties, as well as where to start, ie. what would be potential (functional) fields, and first steps, to start by.

### About simulation

Briefly saying, simulation is to imitate a complicated situation or process for research, either to analyze or solve it. Simulation “enables participants to experience negotiating an international issue... [and encourages] to balance theoretical and conceptual ideas... with the ‘real world’ expectations of foreign policy making” (Enterline & Jepsen 2009). It is within the framework of ‘Game theory’, as a method to examine, discuss and calculate (ie. test how participants calculate), and based on that find out what kind of choices & decisions participants do in different circumstances. In the same way, as reality is never a closed system (due to in & outputs), after being started simulation, as well as a role play game, will follow its own rhythm and logic, and be open towards inputs from outside.

Among objectives of simulation are: 1) to prepare participants (e.g. early-career researchers & students) to make deeper analyses, read and understand a nature, dynamics, rules & procedures of an international negotiation (situation), as well as difficulties & challenges of agreeing; 2) to increase participants’ knowledge and understanding on an issue area, in particular multi dimensional & complex ones, as a part of world / global politics, as well as roles and interrelations of relevant actors; 3) to increase participants’ knowledge on interests, policies / strategies & objectives of international actors, and their interpretations of ‘power’ (based on military and/or economic strength) vis-a-vis ‘influence’ (based on knowledge, communication & diplomacy), as well as how interests could be combined even when actors disagree; 4) to prepare participants to assume & adopt policy-shaping & decision-making processes, and assume, adopt & train their leadership roles; 5) to train oral and rhetoric skills, ie. how (first) to listen others and (then) argue on behalf of your points of view / opinions (based on knowledge & proper information), and how to convince others in an open discussion; and finally, to realize and adopt, and assist other participants to adopt, a

‘dialogue’ as an effective method, when “the potential of dialogues” is been materialized.

Simulation is, first of all, a process consisted of several rounds as steps like for example, firstly, to find out & examine, if a political will for real discussions is achievable and valued, even “to agree that we disagree” as an achievement; secondly, to brainstorm ways & methods how to (re)build and by whom, confidence between parties; thirdly, to define & agree which (next) steps would have potential to become best practices; and fourthly, to draft a memorandum or statement on the situation based on the discussions & negotiations.

### Participants & Actors

The participation of the Role Play Game at CA2025 consists of relevant European and Arctic actors, so that the main categories of international actors will be represented. Ideally there are 2-3 actors from each category.

There is no official list of international actors, yet the following categories are mostly included:

- States: e.g. European & Arctic states
- Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs): e.g. Arctic Council, European Union, NATO
- Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs): e.g. WWF, GreenPeace
- Sub-national governments: e.g. Greenland, Nunavut, Inari Municipality
- Civil societies: e.g. Indigenous peoples (Saami, Inuit), scientific community • Transnational Corporations (TNCs) & State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs): e.g. Gazprom, Equinor (Statoil), LKAB, UTAC, Big Tech

There will be a chair with a limited, technical mandate given by the Security Council of United Nations.

### Role Play Game at CA2025

The Game will start from the reality, ie. the state of Europe, between green transition and militarization, in November 2025 (see, Background Context). This reality will be simulated by the actors of the Game by imitating real actors and their actions & reactions (in the beginning).

After the introduction and short presentations by each actor on its main interests and aims (1<sup>st</sup> Round) the Game will create its own dynamics, and is allowed to go beyond the reality.

Following this, after the first round, the actors are asked to follow the logic of the Game and act accordingly. On the one hand, to defend own interests and aims, and on the other, be open-minded and innovative trying to look the bigger picture, and brainstorm ways & steps how to (re)build confidence between parties.

The ultimate aim is to draft a joint memorandum or road map on the situation as well as steps further. The final outcome could, nonetheless, be an “agreement to disagree”, or bluntly a failure.

1<sup>st</sup> Round: Introduction of the Game, and short introductory presentations (1-2 min) by each actor on its main interests & functions; only technical questions on the procedure are allowed.

2<sup>nd</sup> Round: Presentations (2-3 min) by each actor on how it sees & defines the current state of Europe between green transition and militarization, in general and vis-a-vis to

Arctic cooperation; substantial questions & comments by others after each presentation are expected.

3<sup>rd</sup> Round: Presentations & brainstorming (2 min) by each actor on ways & steps how to (re)build confidence between parties; substantial questions & critical comments by others after each presentation are expected, even recommended.

The Game is all about rhetoric and oral presentations: The state & future of Europe, between green transition and militarization, consists of the card table; actors are the pieces (not pawns); Arctic cooperation consists of the guidelines, and learned lessons is the stake; and finally an oral presentation is the dice.

Following from this, there will only be short presentations. This is firstly, to guarantee that all participants / actors will have the floor; secondly, to manage to go through the planned rounds; and thirdly, the best precondition for to allocate time for a dialogue and materialize “the potential of dialogues” (Gadamer 1992; Heininen 2023).

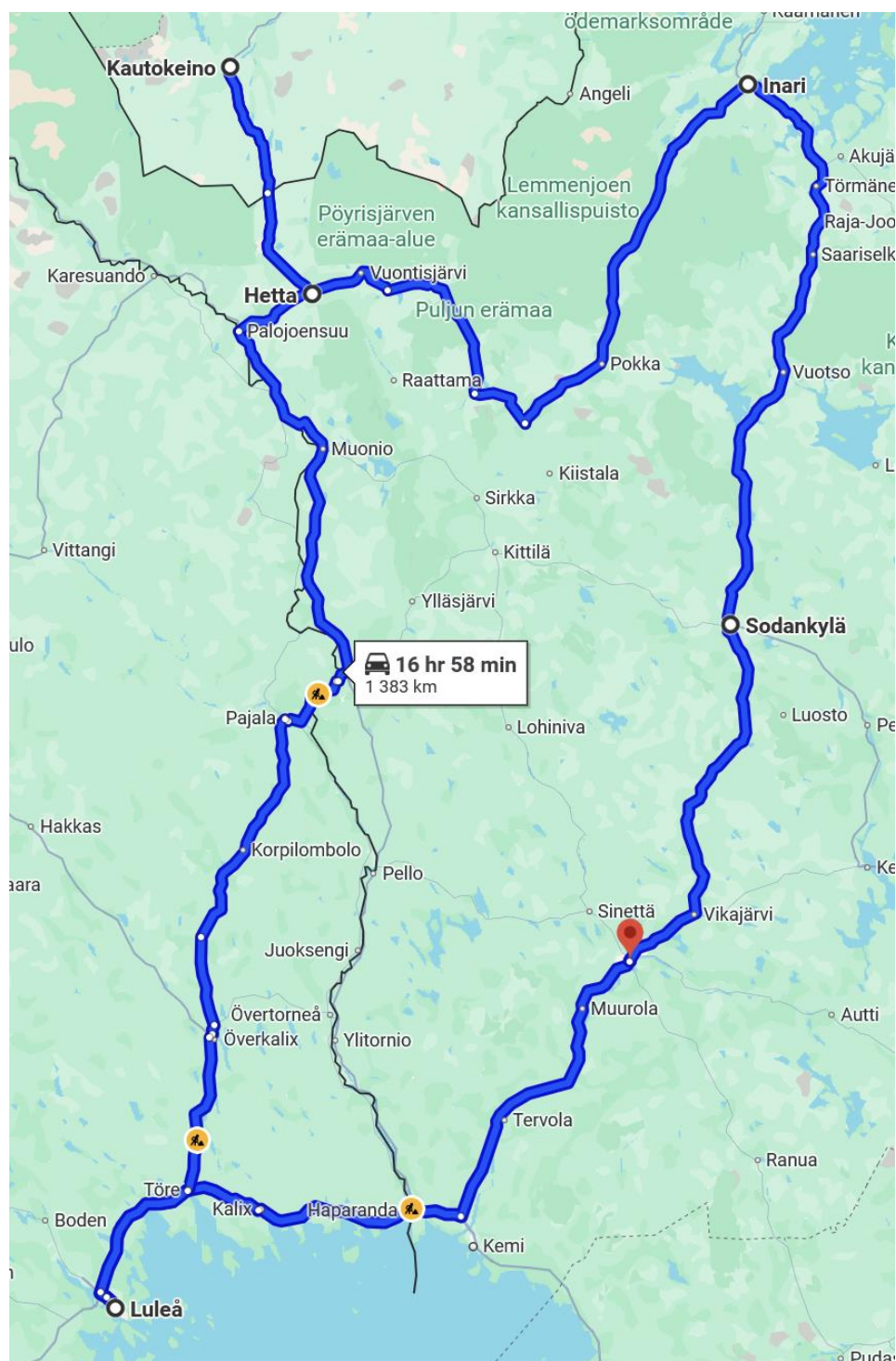
Please, find and read material about, and make a close study of, your actor. You are asked briefly to introduce your actor on the 1<sup>st</sup> Round.







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